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ABSTRACT

This three-part book is part of a series exploring educational policy planning, published by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Education Committee. The articles in this collection, resulting from a January 1973 conference, focus on pedagogical and organizational dimensions. The first part of the book presents a review of the conference discussions, as well as its agenda and an orientation paper on participatory planning. Part two consists of papers which report experiments in participation and planning from the field, with examples ranging from specific institutions to the national level. The papers in part three, also based on fieldwork, emphasize conceptual developments which suggest how planning might be seen as a participatory process. (Author/PB)

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PARTICIPATORY PLANNING IN EDUCATION

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PREFACE

This book is part of a series of publications in which issues in the field of educational policy planning are explored under the programme of the OECD Education Committee. The subject of a variety of expert meetings and joint exchanges among country representatives, this exploration has focussed in turn on the economic relationships, the social bases and the long-term dimensions for planning the development of education. The present book on participation carries this discussion further toward pedagogical and organisational dimensions. Eeach new focus has meant not the abandonment of others, but rather their modification and thus some further structuring of this extensive field. However, this series of books is not a "planned" one, nor does the present volume aim at a "definitive" treatment of participation or of any other aspect of educational policy planning. Rather it records and interprets some significant currents of OECD country experience and thinking in this field in the early 1970's.

Earlier discussion of the long-term future in the planning of education offered at least two major notions which are fundamental to the consideration of participation. First, it was recognized that scholars who study the future offer sophisticated analyses and critical insights which deserve to be examined and tested for their applicability. Such expertise, however, also constitutes a problem in that no group, however expert, should be allowed to "colonize the future". When this proposition is recognized as a restatement of the democratic ideal, it underlines the need for broad participation in planning.

The second idea was that long-term planning is only viable if such planning efforts are conducted as a kind of "pedagogical" activity. The planning process contributes to an organisation's efforts to "learn" better to guide its own actions, and exercises in long-term planning could thus be seen as part of the planning "curriculum".

Added to these perspectives from the long-term approach has been an increasing awareness of profound and interrelated changes in both pedagogy and in planning itself. A leading idea motivating the discussion on participation in the planning of education, which is reported in the present volume, was that the pedagogical process, as this is usually meant, involving pupils and students in schools, is developing a major participatory mode which, to be effective, requires a supportive organisational and administrative environment in terms of broader participation, particularly in planning. While the papers and the conference, in January, 1973, to which they were submitted did not go into any detail as to the content of such participatory pedagogy, its relationship to planning was pursued vigorously as part of the problem of reconceptualizing the planning process as essentially a participatory process.

The guidelines paper by the Secretariat invited participants to consider a redefinition of planning, moving its focus away from the preparation of expert plans, whatever their analytical basis, to the new objective of fostering in every possible way planning activity as a social process throughout the organisation and involving all individuals including those at the lowest level of the hierarchy. The exploration of the conceptual bases of this proposition and their translation into practical measures led the discussion into a search for an understanding of participation in the educational process as such, so that planning could effectively serve the establishment of participation and its successful maintenance.

Part One of the book presents a review of the conference discussions, as well as its agenda and orientation paper. Part Two consists of those papers which for the most part report useful instances of participation and planning "from the field" - covering examples ranging from the national level to specific institutions. The papers in Part Three are also based on experience but emphasize conceptual developments which clearly suggest how planning might be seen as a participatory process. Since space limitations required that a third of the material submitted could not be included, the selection was made on the basis of the relevance of the contributions to the major themes and issues to be developed.

It should, in conclusion, be noted that the organisational and policy framework required for participatory planning in education is shown in this book to reach beyond the formal sphere of education. This recognition of the larger social context of education would obviously need to be further developed in specific organisational terms, linking educational planning to all the other policy sectors essential to the effective functioning of education.

Part One

PARTICIPATORY PLANNING IN EDUCATION AND PLANNING FOR PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION

I

THE PARTICIPATORY PLANNING PROCESS FOR EDUCATION

by

Beresford Hayward
OECD Secretariat

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I. PARTICIPATION AND PARTICIPATORY PEDAGOGY: THE CURRENT ENVIRONMENT FOR EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

The development of the planning process for education in the OECD countries and discussions about this development during the past few years have reflected profound changes taking place in education itself. Behind these changes lie deeper changes affecting educational goals, changes in perceptions of the world and of the nature of human development. Children and youth are perceived very differently in modern societies and their perceptions also are profoundly altered. Furthermore, there is a broad and continuing change in the perceived relationship between education and society. Together these perceptual changes contribute to the great difficulty today in specifying values and goals for education.

Similarly, it is even less apparent how to convert whatever values are accepted into operational objectives and targets. Momentous changes have also characterized the institutional side of education: its vast expansion to involve as much as a third of some nations' total population, its increase in costs at a more rapid rate than this expansion, and its complex differentiation. Traditional institutional boundaries have been threatened by these changes, and, particularly, there has been a loosening up of the usual time, space and place boundaries for education.

In response to these changes there have been efforts to define further and to develop the planning function. This has led to emphasis on the need for comprehensiveness to cover the increasing scope and variety in education; on the need to view education in a long-term perspective and in the context of relationships to other sectors of society and to other public services and programmes; and on the need to link planning activities to policy-making, to the actual implementation of programmes and to widespread innovational developments - or the demand for them - in education.

It is within the context of such diverse concerns that the idea of participatory planning for education is emerging as a central and perhaps unifying concept. It is argued that modern education represents a situation of such complexity, vastness and fluidity with its ramifications into every aspect of society that only a system of planning, policy-making and development which in some way allows for effective participation by a major proportion of the people concerned can in fact be sufficiently responsive and practical.

The tendency toward broader participation in policy and planning in education fits into a larger trend discernible in many other sectors of modern society. In the first place, such a tendency in society places new demands on education. Increased participation in policy-making generally requires people who have developed to a critical level in their capacity for self-management. From the viewpoint of its social function, education develops two general capacities in people: first, the capacity to accept external selection, and second, the capacity for self-selection. In an educational process based upon the judgement of external authority over the individual, learning pivots around the individual's response to forces external to himself - acquiescence, adjustment or resistance. Capacity for self-selection involves a process emphasizing self-knowledge, increasing awareness of one's own potentials, and the building of internal standards for guiding exploratory behaviour and skill acquisition. No educational system completely eliminates one or the other of these forms of developmental preparation for the socialization of the young. While the overwhelming weight of education has been on its operation as a selection process external to the student, there is a move to redress this balance toward the development of the individual's capacity for self-judgement and direction. It is hardly a foregone conclusion that the future of modern society will be one of wider and deeper policy participation, but a more balanced concern in education to develop the individual's capacity for autonomous judgement would contribute to such a future.

This shift in the major social purpose of the educating process is closely linked to the efforts within education itself to develop a more effective pedagogy. Thus, with respect to participation in policy and planning, education may represent a special case because of the nature of the educational activity. In recent years the leading challenges to established pedagogical theory and practice hinge upon a reawakening to the fact that education is only as effective as the active participation of each individual in his own education. This general pedagogical direction could be characterized as a movement toward participatory pedagogy. Within a broad range of approaches, the stress is upon the development of the individual, particularly his capacity to choose his own objectives, learning pathway, career and further education, and on the basis of increasing self-understanding, to relate these choices clearly to his personal and social responsibilities to other people. The adult world, and particularly the teachers, are expected to provide an environment conducive to growth in self-management in a complex world. Obviously, in line with this conception, the teachers also require much greater autonomy, for only teachers with a capacity and the means for initiative can establish and maintain the needed environment for the young. Thus, it becomes apparent that educational planning can be contemplated in terms of its relationship to trends in pedagogy and the notion arises that pedagogy, and the planning in an educational system in which this pedagogy is to operate, should be congruent.

In this way, educational planning may be ready to assume a new, more demanding self-definition. The question being asked is whether there is any meaning in a planning process for education until it is shown how such planning affects pupils, students and teachers in their daily learning activities. The idea may be intuitively accepted that the pedagogical practice directly involving the pupils and students is not isolated from the style of important activities such as planning and policy-making in the wider school and community environment. But it is possible to see this relationship in more specific terms germane to the idea of participation. For example, pupil or student response to a participatory pedagogy is profoundly affected by whether the implications of such pedagogy are evident to him beyond the classroom. If they are not, this should at least be the subject of searching interpretation for him. Since the young are characterized by rapid and uneven growth, successful development of their participation demands sensitive adjustments in manner, form and dimension which are possible only if there is consistency across the major elements of their life experiences in schools and in the community. It is not natural to stop their participation from either side of the classroom door, if the aim is to develop their propensities and capacities to participate.

Furthermore, whatever the specific form of tuition or classroom arrangement, it is recognized that the nexus of the learning-teaching process is largely the quality of inter-personal relationships between the pupils or students and the teachers. However, the capacity of the teacher to contribute constructively to these relationships involved in teaching is profoundly determined by the teacher's other set of relationships, those with the adult world, those involving his personal development as an adult, and such relationships vitally include the teacher's role in planning and decision-making processes in his school institution and in the educational system generally. It has been amply demonstrated that the extent to which teachers are, themselves, in the process of development as adults reflects upon how well they can foster, or even tolerate the vital development of young people. From this viewpoint the problem of the planning system in education is to bring the teacher into active planning and development of the educational system, allowing the teacher a primary role as the professional specialist in the formulation of the general framework of the educational system and also giving him the freedom to invent and develop his particular practice in response to his relationship with the students.

Another dimension of this relationship is that a participatory pedagogy is not likely to be ultimately developed for children and youth if their parents are not also brought into the stream of such development. The contribution of education toward increasing the gap between generations is often seen to underlie parental opposition to educational innovations. An educational process which promises to increase markedly the personal autonomy of the young must threaten the adults - particularly those closest to them - if they are not effectively included within the development of a planning and policy framework required for such a process.

II. RECENT OECD TRENDS IN EDUCATIONAL PLANNING CONDUCIVE TO PARTICIPATION

A participatory planning process presents the planning agencies in education with the basic problem of what their role and function is, or should be, and the most obvious approach is to explore the nature of such a planning process. Such an exploratory effort can begin with the question of how the planning process is generally perceived today and what are its major elements. Recent trends in Member countries show that the authorities responsible for planning generally subscribe to a kind of "ideal" planning process toward which their practice should develop while, however, admitting that experience will somewhat re-fashion this ideal itself. The most far-reaching level of educational planning activity is recognized as that involving a change in the values of the educational system, which means normative or policy planning in which the structure and the substance of the educational process is open to question and revision. In general, the extent to which planning is operating at this level determines its impact and the character of the planning process at other levels. Below this level of concern, the planning process can deal with strategies for attaining the objectives set in terms of the values accepted, and then with the operational planning of scheduled action and programmes. Moreover, the process constitutes a cycle: information feeds back from the operation of programmes by which the evaluation of programme effectiveness, of strategy and of objectives and values may be used as a basis for further planning. The territorial size of these "circles" of the planning process, whether they embrace an entire country, a local region, single institutions or groups of similar institutions, their inter-relationships and their timing, are further aspects of the planning process in any given country. Finally, it is recognized that the administrative structure and patterns of political and social control of the educational system, as well as the development of planning agencies themselves, lie behind the specific character of a country's planning process for education.

Despite wide country differences, experience has suggested that planning must be regarded as a process which should be pervasive throughout the educational administration and school institutions. Furthermore, as this planning process has come to reflect the untidy by-play of political and social forces in most countries, it could not be focused toward the production of definitive, comprehensive plans. In other words, whatever the circle of information flow from the planning unit to constituent institutions and back again, the major concern has usually not been the production of a unique and all-embracing plan which is the subject of systematic revision. While this lack may often be self-criticized among planning authorities, they have maintained a commitment to a comprehensive viewpoint in planning studies and analyses. At the same time, OECD country education planning tends to be less prescriptive and emphasizes instead its advisory function. It has been prominently described in terms of two related concepts: as a contributor to a system of "rolling reforms" and as a system itself of "informative criticism"; the making of plans has also been recognized as a pedagogical tool within the total "learning" process of educational policy, development and administration.

III. THE PARTICIPATORY PLANNING PROCESS DEFINED

These general trends represent the background for examining the extent to which OECD country planning for education is or might become participatory. There is no doubt that participation in educational planning, appearing under many forms and in a variety of social and country settings, has been growing. However, it is important to distinguish between participation in planning and a participatory planning process, that is, a planning process which as a whole is dominated by effective participation as its major operational objective. Although this kind of planning process is as yet little tested by experience, it is clear that it involves the deliberate organisation of various mechanisms to serve a particular social end. Thus, the participatory planning process can in this way be defined as the organisation of a sustained social process characterized by an increasing engagement in policy and autonomy in action for the individuals lowest in the organisational scale. In education, these individuals are the pupils or students, followed by the teachers and other adults directly dealing with them.

There has not as yet been sufficient experience to demonstrate the longer-term viability of such a participatory planning system - a system of local and individual initiative, innovation, deviation and sustained continuity. However, participatory planning rests on an indispensable "infrastructure" of institutional, organisational and social mechanisms which include systematic information, communication, administration and policy. The extent to which these mechanisms are successful in promoting direct participation in the planning process determines the opportunity opened to local units and to individuals to plan their own particular futures, which also opens the way for widespread variations and innovations in education. Participatory mechanisms which include well-delineated "rules of the game", effective methods of appeal, and a clear procedure for establishing general priorities, allow for the possibility that local units and individuals in an educational system might even plan and act at some points in contradiction to the general plans or perspectives of the larger system. Without an adequate framework of mechanisms and policies, however, such trends would merely degenerate toward a kind of free-wheeling chaos in education within which more favoured groups or individuals could dominate others and impose new rigidities no more useful than the old ones.

An assessment of how any mechanism, or infrastructure of mechanisms, contributes to the planning process can be made only for a specific country or educational system. Such mechanisms can be expected to reflect particular cultural and social circumstances and traditions, but the underlying question can still be raised as to the general direction of the planning process as such. For example, consultative processes involving the clients of education can either emphasize their role to provide information for central planning and decision-making or, instead, can engage them in a dialogue in which the planning and decision-making are widely shared. Again, representative forms of participation are likely to be needed in any participatory system in order to develop global strategies and policies, but great emphasis on the use of a single representative structure tends to put planning in the hands of central bodies.

If planning is assumed to be an effort to influence the future behaviour of people, the important question is whether its instruments, such as consultation and representation systems, are directed toward creating the conditions for genuinely voluntary behaviour or for the manipulation of behaviour.

The character of the policy framework is fundamental to the infrastructure of participation. For example, if this policy framework yields too much ground to the "authority of history", if great bodies of rules, structures, relationships, curricula, prerogatives and certificates are kept outside the critical inquiry of the planning process, the actual scope of participation can be diminished to a point of futility. The policy framework must also develop an increasing clarity in the ground-rules for social and political relationships within the system so that while the needs of the larger politics are projected and protected, the participation of even the least advantaged group or individual also becomes genuinely operational.

Thus, in summary, the participatory planning process as herein defined should be seen in terms of a direction of development in planning organisation, but taking this direction is a matter of deliberate choice and depends upon the strength of the mechanisms and policies invented to serve it.

IV. THE INFRASTRUCTURE FOR THE PARTICIPATORY PLANNING PROCESS

The participatory planning process requires the support of mechanisms which include (a) a network of communications, (b) a framework of information, (c) a structure of support for deviation, innovation and redress of inequality and (d) a planning programme for the development of participation itself. It is, of course, assumed that, along with this technical structure of the planning process, there must exist an overall framework of priorities reflecting educational policy as it is related to other public policies. The following section illustratively sets forth various elements of this infrastructure under these headings. While the formal political structure will be closely related and will contribute to these mechanisms, the infrastructure for participatory planning represents an elaboration of the political structures so as to facilitate the planning function.

a) Network of communication

The following elements appear to be important in such a network:

The network should link political leadership and other centres of policy leadership, centres of research and expert knowledge, administrative sectors responsible for various educational programmes, educational institutions, teachers and teacher organisations, students and student organisations, economic organisations and community and other cultural groupings.

An important function in establishing and maintaining this communication network is the identification and the deliberate promotion of group formation, group awareness and group expression.

Permanent structures of representation and of consultation are other elements of this network. These can be augmented by ad hoc bodies for specific issues or in specific areas. Rules and arrangements can be such as to encourage the formation of such bodies at local levels.

Techniques for strengthening the effective communication between groups should be the subject of constant development.

There is a distinction between consultation with group representatives and open consultations which allow direct individual participation. Public hearings and surveys can be part of a consultation process but the limitations of one-way communications such as the questionnaire should be recognized: the communication process should be designed for flows in many directions. In fact, what should be emphasized is the capacity for horizontal communications which cut across the tendency for information flows to move vertically in the service of a centralizing planning process.

b) Framework of information

Information policy in support of a participatory planning process would not only provide information for policy leadership but would particularly emphasize its effective dissemination through the system. Thus, the forms and the organs of information would range from detailed, technical reports to clear, summary expositions using a variety of media.

Planning authorities would develop an increasingly rich flow of critical information and analyses to put into the network of communication. A summary of the general classes of this information would be too long for this paper. However, this information should be particularly heavy in its provision of conceptual frameworks for the discussion of policy and planning problems at all levels, and should not be prescriptive.

Particular attention can be drawn to the function of the plan. If the plan is viewed as the central preoccupation of the planning authority and the network of communication is largely devoted to a flow of information necessary to revise and rewrite a comprehensive plan, this activity will tend to centralize the planning process. A more "powerful" plan, increasingly co-ordinated and offering more detailed solutions to problems, limits the character of grass-roots participation. In other words, the plan can contribute toward a centralizing tendency or it can serve the purpose of creating a framework within which participation can be made more viable.

c) Support for deviation, innovation and redress of inequality

The aim to achieve broad participation in educational planning implies an organisational policy of decentralization. Thus, measures widening local control down to the school level and decentralizing the control of resources and administrative arrangements sharing controls within school institutions seem to be the natural administrative "environment" for a participatory system of planning. However, deviation, dissent and innovation are not automatically promoted or protected when authority is in local hands. Central authorities would have to provide for procedures and rules which protect deviation and dissent, provide avenues of appeal from local decisions, and set the ground rules for relationships among groups and individuals which would ensure the representation and development of weaker elements in the educational community. Furthermore, support and protection of local or individual experimentation, innovation and innovators might under many circumstances be a major task for more central bodies of the organisation.

d) A planning programme for the development of participation

The planning programme is important enough in the infrastructure of the participatory system to supersede at times the activities of agencies or organisations specializing in planning. However, planning agencies can determine their role to become a key factor in the participatory system. In general, the planning agency would recognize itself as only one of the contributors in a larger social and institutional process of planning, a special and important contributor but not dominant.

The role of the planning organisation in the establishment and development of educational planning through participation involves new forms of technical skills and analytical contributions. At least two characteristics of the developing role of organisations in a participatory process may be emphasized. First, a planning organisation should contribute to the fostering and organisation of the participatory process itself and to the functioning of the mechanisms for participation. Second, it must gear its professional and analytical activities to the development of information in forms which promote widespread understanding throughout the educational system and which promote planning activities throughout the system. It should be a major sponsor or producer of the framework of data and information within which independent thinking and planning may be done by individuals and by the various sectors of the system.

The planning programme implied in this role would have some of the following major elements.

i) A "mapping" of the whole field of participation in education in terms of

- a) the various groups as they can be identified, and as they identify themselves,
- b) at the various levels, boundaries and interrelationships in the structure of the educational system, and
- c) in the various substantive activities of the educational process.

This "map" would be under continual development and differentiation as these groups come to recognize their situations, perceptions and values. The interrelationships thus disclosed would provide data for formulating the areas, boundaries, procedures and policies required for the participatory system.

ii) Evaluation of the participatory process itself. This would include analysis of the mechanisms and operations, the proposed and existing policies and measures for participation; monitoring and investigating the structure of rules by which the planning process operates, and would aim, for example, at eliminating unnecessary rules and regulations, both in administration and in planning. The "success" of the participatory system should be critically observed, particularly in terms of the pedagogical aims of the system.

iii) Responsibility for establishing and maintaining the organs and mechanisms of information.

iv) A systematic programme of analysis of substantive educational problems related to policy planning which would be fed into the information framework. Such a programme would include developing frameworks for long-term perspective analysis, and using these and other technical and analytical tools for critiques of various proposals, developments or trends appearing any place in the educational system. One particular role for planning agencies would be to help solve technical problems in the integration of the disparate planning directions taken by the various sectors in education.

v) A major continuing programme of training in practical skills and techniques required for participation in planning which would include people throughout the system.

V. AREAS OF FUNDAMENTAL STUDY FOR A PARTICIPATORY SYSTEM

The perspective suggested here, looking toward the extension of participation in the planning of education, must be placed alongside the larger experience in participation in many areas of organised activity which hardly leads to optimism about the outcome. Further work aiming at the operational development of participation must include close study of participatory systems which so often collapse or degenerate into new forms of hierarchy. This paper only begins to outline some obvious infrastructure and policies which seem to be related to the minimum conditions for a participatory system. However, these represent an almost "empty" framework within which are fostered substantial policies based on a deeper understanding of the human forces involved - policies aimed at the development or "education" of the participants so that they might increasingly participate. In reaching this objective, they could be expected to contribute better to managing the change in the participatory system - which is particularly subject to continuing change in any event - in less disappointing directions.

If a programme of fundamental investigation into the problematic areas of participation in this field were based on such an underlying value, could the next order of business be the further elaboration of such a programme? For example, investigation might be expected to probe such questions as the relationship between a growing participatory system and existing hierarchical structures, the extent to which people and groups can develop tolerance for the increased ambiguities involved in participatory planning and decision-making, the appropriate means for developing "training" in participation, assessment of the specific cultural and historical circumstances which govern the establishment and operation of participation, the considerations behind getting planners and policy-makers to co-operate in the creation of participatory systems, and the resolution of conflict between the outcomes desired by those who have a long-term perspective and the short-term planning bias of a participatory planning system.

VI. POLICY "ENVIRONMENT" FOR PARTICIPATORY PLANNING IN EDUCATION

What are the elements of a policy "environment" which would affect the character and viability of a participatory planning process? This environment would largely be comprised of the prevailing policy priorities plus the organisational policies which govern the procedures for developing and changing these priorities.

The making of organisational policy would itself be the subject of the participatory process. However, the general aim would be to develop a structure for negotiating the necessary broad agreements on basic policy and planning questions which preserves the identity and responsiveness of group representatives and, at the same time, provides the reference points for the whole field of educational activity and inquiry which would be freely and directly conducted, negotiated and planned by all participants. Such policy would aim for an organisational framework in which the aspirations and the rights of the larger community, all constituent groups and individuals could in the balance be realized.

The policies for the development of education itself provide, however, an even broader context for a participatory process in educational planning. Wider participation tends to be a major tool for advancing certain directions in educational reform and, furthermore, can coexist only with a definite range of educational philosophies, styles and objectives. This is related to the need to measure the "success" of the participatory system not by criteria external to education but rather by the educational one of the growth of the participants evidenced in their capacity and propensity to participate.

Thus, participation itself is recognized as a most difficult educational activity involving the development and acceptance of the basic value-concept of the autonomous individual in the context of organisational, social and political life and relationships. It requires a continuing effort to understand the meanings which people attach to various aspects and forms of participation and to understand why they may reject participation and how they may develop beyond the point of such rejection. Thus, it requires the often difficult development of new perceptions among people, and particularly their leaders, both within and outside the educational system.

Participation can emerge only as a result of positive policy and deliberate choice. To establish and develop a participatory system requires even more leadership, policy delineation, technical skills, planning and analysis than any previous form of organisational structure and process. Paradoxically enough, perhaps the crucial initiative for this kind of policy and programme must ultimately come from central authorities.

This brief exposition draws upon an interpretation of perceived trends toward a possible future in educational policy planning - but obviously not a forecast future. The same forces that challenge the existing establishment in education, and therefore imply a change in the planning process for education, also give rise to major uncertainties which point to solutions quite opposite to those under the heading "participation". Like any aspect of planning for the future, the development of participatory planning will be a matter of deliberate choice among various possibilities in terms of social ends and suitable and effective mechanisms.

II

AGENDA AND NOTES FOR THE DISCUSSION

I. AGENDA

It is proposed that the discussion be organised in the following general order:

1) Review of Country Experience in Participatory Planning in Education;
2) Conceptual Frameworks for the Interpretation of this Experience;
3) Implications for Possible Future Directions in the Development of Participatory Planning in Education.

II. NOTES FOR THE DISCUSSION

The opening Secretariat paper for this meeting, as well as the other contributions, whether country reports or expert submissions, reveal the essential unity of the theme which makes an itemized agenda look exceptionally artificial. Thus, almost all the papers reporting practical government or institutional programmes or schemes of participatory planning go extensively into theoretical commentaries and all of the general interpretive papers are in turn based on practical experience. The three topics suggested above are therefore meant to provide a convenient structure for the discussion of the theme rather than individual items calling for separate treatment.

Under Item 1, the experience reported would concentrate on those countries and submissions which have been brought to the attention of the meeting in some detail. In any case it would be recognized that these represent a sufficient sample from actual OECD country experience on which to base serious discussion. They include reports on participatory schemes for total education systems (the United Kingdom, France, Yugoslavia and the Province of Quebec in Canada); for systems of higher education as a whole (Sweden and The Netherlands); for all schools below the secondary level (Sweden and the states of New Jersey and Illinois in the United States); and for individual institutions (the University of Buffalo in New York and the University of Bremen in Germany). The exploration of these examples would focus on two issues:

a) the main features of these participatory systems or schemes; and
b) the main problems and issues which emerge from them.

Item 2 of the Agenda would draw heavily upon the contributions of the experts invited to the meeting. It could be the particular role of these experts to assist in formulating basic concepts and hypotheses that might lead to integrated interpretations, from the viewpoints developed in their own papers, attempting to pull together the meaning of this growing country experience in participatory planning. They will not be required to deliver their papers or summarize them in any formal sense to the meeting, but they will rather be encouraged to promote a deeper understanding of their viewpoints by engaging in this interpretative effort on the basis of the empirical experience emerging from Item 1.

The final focus of the meeting, under Item 3 of the Agenda, would be to draw from these experiences and interpretations a basis for possible future action in the development of participatory planning systems for education. The objective here would be for OECD country planners to begin to specify, to "invent", the future of educational planning itself if it is to be capable of serving a participatory educational system. An attempt could be made to deal with the questions:

> What policies in the development of planning are indicated to meet major problems and issues in participatory planning?
> What are the appropriate organisational measures and strategies to develop and maintain a participatory planning system?
> What kind of programme development is required for the planning agencies in a participatory system?

NOTES ON MAIN ISSUES

As a guide to the substance of the material presented relevant to the above Agenda, the following issues, including some of their basic interrelationships, are suggested:

i) Social trends, and related demands for pedagogy and schooling which effectively meet these trends, have combined to create a need for a participatory system of education. These trends are documented in most of the papers, but particularly for the United Kingdom by Plunkett; they are more broadly interpreted in an international context by Anderson and at the institutional level by von Moltke, Wetterstrom and Sommerkorn. In addition, Eide points to four alternative future "scenarios" in pedagogy which have already made their appearance in OECD countries, each of which could imply different levels of group power and participation in educational policy and planning. This leads to the delineation of a number of interrelated themes constituting a "circle" of issues around which the participatory planning revolves.

ii) A participatory system of education, which is to be served by participatory planning, itself rests upon certain basic organisational conditions and upon the level of commitment to diminish "vertical and horizontal exploitation", defined generally as the power of some to impose their values on others (Eide). These conditions are comprised of a structure of relationships ensuring local autonomy which protects the local units from each other and from above, but which also does not leave the organisation defenceless against external pressures. Such structural and organisation conditions are set out by von Hentig and illustrated in the French experience in the reform of higher technical education in France since 1968 (Corpet).

iii) However, to make a participatory system actually operational, much greater specificity is needed in the formation of supporting authoritative functions, management controls and the structure of communications and organisational relationships, as indicated by Elliott Jaques and Maurice Kogan. For example, the use of consultation and other forms of communication in specific circumstances of managerial operations should be distinguished from genuine participation in policy-making.

iv) At the same time, a participatory system can also be conceived as an innovative sector within an existing hierarchical structure. (von Moltke) The hierarchical organisation is not destroyed by its inter-relationships with the participatory system but the growth of such participation does represent an operationalization of individual values which have been lost in large, complex organisations. For example, these renewed values allow participatory planning, theory and practice to cope with the element of indeterminacy which is characteristic of genuine innovation.

v) Thus, planning activity and the role of planning agencies (and of planners) are subject to radical changes if they are to support participatory systems of education. Westley, like Jaques, borrowing from general experience in industry and other social organisations outside of education, suggests that the planners should engage in socio-technical study of the system needed to inform the participating groups of the actual facts of their inter-relationships. Susan Balloch further specifies the new role of the planners in the participatory system who must become one of the groups under study, recognizing themselves as only one of a number of social groups involved in education.

vi) Nevertheless, the planners may still be regarded as a group with a special role to develop one of the "pedagogies" (called planning) designed to encourage "institutional learning" by the educational system itself. Ziegler reports on work at the Syracuse Educational Policy and Research Center demonstrating that planners can develop specific techniques which can be readily learned by most individuals in the population, who are thereby enabled to develop practical levels of competence in future analysis which directly affects their daily performance.

vii) However, in order for individuals to practise such participatory planning effectively, they need to do so within conducive social and organisational structures, which brings us back to the considerations raised by Eide, Kogan and Jaques, thus completing the "circle" of these inter-related themes.

Finally, it should be noted that the above brief thematic outline is based on a selection of significant fragments of some of the papers for this meeting and is not meant to foreclose exploration of the rich fields which they open up.

III

REVIEW OF THE CONFERENCE

by

the Secretariat

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The meeting was essentially based on the agenda presented in the previous paper but the participants took their own course and engaged in a kind of mutual development of ideas not usually experienced when fifty people are gathered around one table on one subject. But then the subject was participation. However, the discussion did follow the premise of the agenda paper which meant that it was concerned less with aspects of participation in conventional forms of planning than with planning which is essentially involved in the development of participation. The basic purpose and character of such participatory planning for education is to facilitate and support the expansion of participation in policy-making and in the control of administrative and educative activity, and the meeting recognized the need to explore the fundamental problems in these broader areas. Thus, the substance of the discussion developed under six topical areas of concern. In the first area participation is explored as a question of the redistribution of political power in the field of education. The second section goes on to explore the social and psychological principles which might help to resolve the conflict for power which is manifest in the search for participation. The third part deals with values which seem to underpin the political, social and psychological choices involved in participation; and the parallel development of pedagogy as it is related to such values is considered in the fourth part. The fifth section reaches further into the operational consequences of participation in terms of educational organisation. Finally, the sixth part of this account deals with strategies for developing participation and the new roles for planning. This summarized account may not capture the moments of genuine exchange and discovery that characterized this meeting, but these six topics cover most of the important ideas developed in the course of the discussion.

I. POWER

Education and Power

Political aspects of educational policy and planning have of course been taken up in previous OECD discussions but never before this meeting have they been subjected to sustained examination. In his opening remarks, Mr. Gass formulated the first major focus of the meeting in his statement that participation is essentially a problem of power, which in this case involves the redistribution of power among the people related to and involved in education. The subsequent discussion showed that the pursuit of participation leads to fundamental and urgent concerns in the politics of education.

Developments giving rise to the issues of power and participation are not confined to education. Governments are confronted throughout their social services sectors with the need to develop new relationships between policy, programme operators and clients. The traditional political administrations which operate these services respond poorly to the new and conflicting demands of emerging social groups and to the complex problems associated with the growth of technological societies. These circumstances in many places cause the client communities to seek for more direct lines of communication with and influence upon the agencies providing them with various social services such as education.

These are recent developments. The reasons that education did not enter the historic political debates about participation provide a useful framework for some of the main themes of the meeting. First, the basic line of power, the right of adults and their representative authorities in the school to make decisions for the pupils and students, has seldom been open to question. (1) The teachers, on the other hand, while retaining their position as the front-line representatives of adult society within the school hierarchy, have begun to challenge authorities above themselves, mainly with respect to work conditions, professional authority, security and rewards. Furthermore, in many countries broad social change has affected education and led to notable tensions and shifts in the usual structure of power relationships among political authorities, administrators, teachers, parents, the wider community, minority groups, and young people.

A second reason why education has been relatively screened from the issue of political power is that the educative process, and pedagogy, have been seen as technical processes divorced from the realities of political power contentions among the groups involved in education. Today, however, this viewpoint has notably changed. Various pedagogies, pedagogical styles and curriculum content are more clearly recognized

1. There have been some noteworthy exceptions. See, for example, the works of the Polish educator Janusz Korczak (1878-1942), cited by Prof. von Hentig.

as related to different political positions and power. For example, while pedagogy based upon learner initiative is often advocated because of its technical efficacy, it turns out to have an operational connection to the redistribution of power in favour of the learner.

Therefore, despite the fact that thinking along these lines in industry dates back at least to the historic syndicalist movement, the discussion, as well as material from some of the papers submitted, developed significant parallels between industrial and educational experience. The idea that real power in industry can be exerted at the point of production is similar to the observation that the control of education is gained only by affecting what actually happens in the classroom.

Underlying psychological dimensions of the struggle to control production also have an educational parallel. Much of productive activity in modern society puts men in the position of Charlie Chaplin who in the film "Modern Times" finds himself a powerless non-person manipulated by the technology and organisation. Therefore a new objective has appeared - often posed as the overriding one - for the further development of technology: to provide work that people find meaningful. The corresponding direction in education is to develop its "technology" - pedagogy - in terms of its meaningfulness to pupils and students. This theme ran through many of the papers and found a large measure of concurrence throughout the discussion. This general agreement included the idea that, whether in industry or education, efforts to create new organisational machinery, structures and representational schemes - such as workers' councils, joint committees and student-teacher senates - will be futile unless, at the same time, the content of productive processes or educative processes are transformed to provide for the participants' basic social and psychological needs. Thus, while the meeting dealt with participation as an effort to solve problems of political power in education, it was recognized that such efforts must also meet other underlying needs.

Planning: The Core of Participation

It had been agreed that the programme of the discussion would be divided into two general parts as indicated in the Secretariat guiding paper:

a) the nature and development of participation and participatory systems in education and
b) the planning policy and mechanisms required to serve participation and participatory systems.

However, in an early intervention Prof. von Moltke introduced a notion that showed more clearly how planning is an activity intrinsic to participation and disclosed the difficulty in treating them separately. He defined participatory planning as being exclusively that planning which takes place at the point of interaction between students and teachers. He distinguished this "action-level" planning from all other planning carried out by administrators at institutional or more central levels, by governing boards or by political authorities. This latter type he called planning at the "control" levels of the educational organisation. (1) von Moltke observed that the political implication for a move towards

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1. This distinction corresponds to what Westley refers to in the traditional organisation model as the "managers" whose role is to take initiative and control, and the "actors", who re-act to the control.

participatory planning was the transfer of as much of the planning as possible from the "control" level to the action-level. He emphasized that action level planning is not synonymous with the idea of micro-planning, since "micro" usually refers to planning at the local, or institutional, level and constitutes therefore one aspect of control-level planning. There can be participation in planning at the control levels, he maintained, but only in action-level planning is participation realised as a political and pedagogical goal.

This definition of planning provided an important pivot for recognizing both political and pedagogical aspects of participation. The political character of a participatory system is reflected in the distribution of the power to plan, and issues such as whether to decentralize educational systems could be placed in the context of this more basic issue. On the other hand, a direct pedagogical role for educational planning appeared clearly in the notion that much planning in education should be transferred to the point of action between learners and teachers. At this elemental level, significant participation would have to include participation in planning which would be both a subject and an object of the learning experience. Thus, planning was shown to be at the very centre of both the politics and the pedagogy of participation.

An educational system is no exception to the fact that in any organisation action-level planning operates within a general environment in which decisions are made at the control levels as defined above. At such control levels - beyond the classroom - participation involves such traditional issues as modes of representation, procedural rules and organisational structures. The Secretariat view was stressed that the notion of participatory planning involved not only an increase in action-level planning, but changes in the whole range of supporting elements at the control levels and, therefore, involved the general re-distribution of power in education.

"Action-Level" Planning in Education: Increasing the Power of the Young

The discussion of technical problems of organising participation repeatedly illustrated how such problems are subordinate to questions of political power: Who should participate? For what purposes? And at what level? Specific experiences brought to the discussion, describing situations in particular countries, localities or institutions, showed that efforts to develop participation or to engage in a critique of those efforts must begin from a point of normative commitment usually related to particular group interests. Early in the discussion Prof. Plunkett suggested the need for empirical political analysis of participation in education. He proposed that such investigations could be based on the normative commitment defined in the basic Secretariat paper, which he restated as "the desirability of allowing responsibility to devolve to the lowest level at which responsibility can be specified, in the end allowing the individual to play his part as far as possible and to control his own fate". In the schools this "lowest level" is the pupils or students. Prof. Plunkett interpreted many of the papers submitted to the conference - he mentioned Anderson, Eide, Ziegler, von Moltke, Sommerkom, Westley, von Hentig - as having in large measure accepted this normative commitment as an underlying principle, and subsequent discussion showed that it was also widely shared among country representatives.

This proposition highlighted a unique aspect, explicitly recognized during the meeting, of the problem of the unequal distribution of political power among groups in education. Education is the most notable example of a service which, even when provided by democratic governments, goes to a clientele comprising a major sector of the population which has no share in the democratic control of the service in any representative sense. Education is of course the only public service in which the overwhelming majority of the clients are children or young adults. In line with their general lack of direct influence in adult social and economic life, they are not accorded the right to political influence in education. When political competence is denied because of minimum age limits a problem is created which is not unlike the problem of differences in competence among adults. In the latter case, however, the weaker members are protected by democratic constitutions against exclusion from political affairs that affect their vital concerns.

Of course in the case of young people chronological age is one of the conditions calling for constitutional refinements and constraints such as recognizing, for example, that they constitute a number of group interests related generally to different levels of maturity. Such modifications would not logically lead to the total political exclusion of any school-age group. Furthermore, since education, even from its earliest levels, is never a passively received service but demands increasing responsibilities of the clients, the tensions arising from their lack of power are emphasized.

The suggestion of participatory education seems to arise out of a challenge to this fundamental and traditional situation, because altered circumstances have made it less clearly operational. There are a wide range of biological, social and psychological changes that have become evident in the young people during the past three or four decades. Their biological maturity occurs three to four years earlier. They are mobile. Lines of information and communication from the mass media reach them. They are travelled, sexualized and idealized, and given unprecedented wealth but humiliatingly little role in the creation of wealth. Furthermore, the technical and consumer affluence of modern society gives rise to demands for high levels of education for a large and growing proportion of the population, while at the same time it offers significant alternatives to traditional education. Thus, the meeting reviewed how the social conditions of children and youth, along with a re-awakened awareness that effective education requires voluntary engagement, tends to emphasize and to call into question their relative political powerlessness in the institutions and in the processes of their own education.

Other Group Interests in Participation

During the discussion many examples were given of other normative positions and group interests that could alternatively dominate developments in participation. For example, Mr. Petty cited United Kingdom experience in which local community control of the schools may lead to a contest between the professional educators and the community forces. He reported that in the case of conflicting views the community usually won. In contrast, Mr. Hyland, reflecting Irish experience, called attention to an alternative possibility: when schools are narrowly selective in character, decentralization of control to the schools may legitimize their defence against community demands for wider diversification and participation.

Mr. Corpet pointed out that he was the only person present who could be said to represent the world of industry. He referred to recent co-operation between government bodies in France and industrial representatives in a planning project to recast technical education in terms of a system of recurrent education. However, he insisted that his more general experience led to his pessimist view that the professional educators would never willingly yield significant power over the educational system to "outside" groups such as industry.

Various groups within governments, including the planners, are often seen to behave as distinct political entities. Mr. Olson and Mr. Kaplan described how the planners in the states of Illinois and New Jersey, in the United States, elaborated and successfully organised state-wide public hearings and citizen committees to participate in the formulation of policy goals. Such an activity might be expected at least to increase the influence of the planners over that of the traditional controllers of education such as the politicians, school boards and "established" professional educators. Successful development of a "second circuit" of citizen participation in goal formulation might normally be expected to result in such a shift in political influence. However, the politics of professional educators as a group were also well represented in the discussion. For example, several of the participants from both the academic and administrative sides, suggested that the basic values and goals for education were not after all in question and were widely accepted, but it was noted by others that usually these are values and goals as formulated by the professional educators themselves.

Mr. Bergstrom of Canada expressed considerable scepticism about the values and goals as developed in professional circles, saying that education suffers from hypochondriasis which expert diagnosis cannot cure: While formal education systems with their complex superstructures are slow to make adjustments, an increasing proportion of educational activity is taking place in other places such as industry. The public, organised at local, state and national levels, must now be allowed the initiative to re-formulate the objectives and chart new futures for education.

Mr. Karagoz of Turkey, toward the end of the two-day meeting, expressed frank disappointment because it had given little help to the group which he identified in Turkey as bearing the responsibility for planning to meet national objectives - the administrators. Pushed by political imperatives, by the parliament and other social forces, the administrators have no time to wait for teachers to be trained to conduct participatory education, nor do administrators yet have mastery of such concepts, he said. Participation as a goal in itself would get in the way of devoting maximum attention to reaching Turkey's essential national goals and could only be a subordinate means to reach these goals as they are interpreted by responsible administrative authorities. In answer to a question, Mr. Karagoz set forth a view of pedagogy quite consistent with the political concern of these authorities, saying that in the classroom development of participation could not be an objective in itself but might possibly be a means to other learning.

In another case, at the level of a single institution, Bremen University in Germany, the first concern was to create a system of participation. However, the ideological groups in the university most responsible for this experiment, seeing themselves as its protectors, established its procedures in a way meant to ensure and perpetuate their control. Prof. Sommerkorn and Prof. Abrahams, reporting on the Bremen example, saw a structural difficulty in keeping participation open while still providing a framework for its survival, but the solution to the problem was political in the broad sense of that word.

Mr. Arai's careful description of the system of opinion canvassing and survey research by the Ministry of Education in Japan illustrated an effort to increase participation within the framework of the traditional management structure. Furthermore, Mr. Arai went on to tell a story vividly illustrating the official concept of some principal roles in education in Japan:

> "A primary school boy asked his teacher a difficult question, which he could not answer. The teacher, knowing that the boy was the son of a famous scientist, suggested that the boy could take his question home to his father. At home the father pretended to the boy not to know the answer to the question. Later he privately got in touch with the teacher and gave him the answer. The next day the teacher in school gave the boy the answer to the difficult question. The teacher's prestige was much enhanced in the eyes of the boy and in this way the father had contributed to the authority of the teacher."

In none of the above examples was increasing the power of students or pupils in education an important consideration. Mr. Eide, though not referring to specific Norwegian experience, suggested the possibility that increasing local control of schools in some cases could lead to an alliance between the professional educators and the parents which would reduce the manœuvering space now available for students between conflicting adult authorities.

If there could be said to be any leading tendency among OECD governments, said Mr. Eide, the group whose power has been most enhanced in recent years is the "expert group" - the people who claim specialized knowledge in the various social, economic or hard sciences, in management or planning. The planners have certainly benefitted from this trend. The question was posed as to whether participation, in terms of increasing the power of the clients would in fact become a leading policy commitment of the planners.

The point to be emphasized is that the discussion revealed many possible normative purposes for participation which were not compatible with a primary commitment to increase the effective power of the individual student in his own education. Such objectives as gaining equality among geographic regions or districts, or giving minorities a greater voice in their community schools, would call for measures different from those required to attune education to the inclinations of individuals. Mr. Gass reminded the meeting of the prevailing values of established education by pointing out that participation must yield to other purposes for education, because society has other needs which must be met ("Some students might decide to drop mathematics from their curriculum"). However, there have appeared in many OECD countries important pedagogical and administrative developments which suggest the possibility of a more important, even dominant, role for participation in terms of pupil and student influence in education. The commitment to such a goal can only take practical form as a quest to discover how such participatory pedagogy and administration can be developed.

Further study of the dynamics of any fundamental political development, such as increasing the influence of the young in education, shows that it need not assume the grim features of a "zero-sum game": an increase in power of one group need not be at the expense of others (Westley). Such an educational reorganisation, designed in effect to expand the total "field" of authority available to everybody, might in the long run mitigate political tensions, but it would not automatically resolve the problems of resistance to any serious move to increase the influence and power of the under-represented majority involved in education.

II. PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL PRINCIPLES

The search for participation is motivated by a broad critique of education suggesting that it shares some of the deepest difficulties of other institutions of modern society. Because an understanding of this critique could be expected to provide clues to success in organising participation, it was a recurring theme to which many of the discussants contributed.

Mr. Ziegler focussed attention on the growth of depersonalization - the creation of the "non-person" - recognized as a leading outcome of modern society and its institutions and as one of its most imminent and pervasive dangers. Attempts to develop participation are a response to depersonalization. Mr. Ziegler pointed out that the consequences of depersonalization far outweigh difficulties such as increased costs, inefficiency, disorder, slowness and lack of co-ordination - to name a few - sometimes attributed to participation schemes. The meeting progressed along lines of general, though often questioning, agreement with this perspective, and reached a level of consensus within which principles for participation could conceivably be advanced.

Mr. Ziegler and Mr. Westley jointly expanded on the theme of depersonalization. Mr. Westley introduced a specific attribute of depersonalization, "the shrinkage of the self" - the retreat of individual competence in the face of multiplying expertise. Mr. Ziegler explained this as the "mechanism of expertise", which "works directly to deny people's competence, increasingly narrowing the area in which the individual can be valorized as competent. The self tends to shrink ... and each individual, in order to realize his own potency denies others any competence in his own special "field" of expertise ... a game admittedly played by all of us, planners, managers and teachers alike".

Mr. Westley pointed out that this social-psychological mechanism depletes an organisation's capacity to perform its primary mission, since much energy instead serves a secondary mission: individual or group defence of their circumscribed functions and roles. Major organisational changes or new technologies will often be turned largely to serve this latter end.

The impulse to reverse this social-psychological position is an even more primordial motivation for participation than the political quest for genuine democratization, Prof. Westley explained. Thus, participation involves a wholly new personal experience in the "enlargement of the self". This means an effort by the individual to increase his control over his own activities up to the real limits of his competence. This effort, in turn, raises the problem of how individuals can gain, or regain, an awareness of their own real competences. An appropriate institutional framework, while it obviously cannot guarantee such self-discovery, can facilitate it.

Such an institutional framework, continued Prof. Westley, would aim to transform the role relationships among the people engaged in the organisation's activity. The present "role interface" in organisations which puts the expert before the layman, or the "controller" before the "actor" in a superordinate role, would be broken into by giving weight to the accumulated experience of the lower ranks and by building a trust among them that this experience would be used. In such programmes the experts gradually discover the value in the experience and ideas coming from the lower-ranked people, who in turn, finding that they are genuinely respected, are better disposed to listen to the advice arising from expertise. In schools the parallel dynamic can be recognized whenever the teachers genuinely seek to know and understand the accumulated experience of their pupils as the major basis for the educative process involving them.

The organisational purpose of this increased sharing of knowledge would be to broaden everyone's role capacity - blurring the boundaries between expert and non-expert roles. Such a transformation of role relationships tends to recast the use of technologies, the divisions of labour and the structure of hierarchical authority associated with modern institutions. This kind of change in role relationships, suggested Westley, is the touchstone for success in the development of participation, whether in industry or in education.

An important delineation of the content of these role relationships was contributed by Dr. Elliott Jaques based on his 25 years of research in industry. According to Jaques, these relationships should secure four "rights" for all members of any organisation:

i) The right to work utilizing the individual's full capacities;
ii) The right to effective involvement in setting objectives and policies of the organisation as a whole;
iii) The right to independence from control by any other individual, such as an immediate superior, without effective appeal from such control;
iv) The right to possession of a position in the group and to equitable status and reward.

Although these principles in themselves are not too different from those set forth in many platforms for industrial or social democracy, Jaques' research documents the serious psychological consequences when these principles are not implemented, producing in the organisation "the most formidable barriers to learning and to change". When the situations of teachers and students are reviewed in schools today the possible impact of such principles is obvious.

Prof. von Hentig cautioned that this general critique of society and education involved an array of problems too broad and deep to be effectively answered by any one response - even one as multi-sided as the idea of participation. Citing a long list of such underlying problems, he agreed that the most important one was depersonalization in productive activity as manifested in the "Charlie Chaplin effect" mentioned earlier - people feeling themselves to be the helpless attachments to a mammoth machine. Moreover, he characterized the whole of modern society in these terms: a society which fails to provide people with an effective framework for participation in decision-making at any level of production, distribution or consumption so that they all feel themselves caught in a giant mechanism which goes on producing things they mostly do not want. If participation is the one column upon which the whole edifice of social reform is to rest it will collapse, said Prof. von Hentig, and as the unique answer it can lead to serious disillusionment in other ways. Treated as an institutional gadget which solves everything, participation can be the excuse for recycling old problems into elaborate new mechanisms even more overwhelming to the individual - in which he is again a Charlie Chaplin. It will be necessary, concluded Prof. von Hentig, to recognize the limits of participation and, in so doing, devise realistic measures that can make it effective in fulfilling its humane purposes.

III. VALUES

Values and value-problems which form a common background to the political, social and psychological principles involved in participation were explicitly raised at many stages of the meeting. The sense of the meeting was that if participation is to acquire renewed significance as a direction in education today its unique values would have to be further developed and specified. Such study should also spell out the implications of these values for pedagogy in terms of the style and content of the students' educational experience as well as for the administration, organisation and planning needed to support this pedagogy.

A major value problem was addressed when participation was particularly identified with one value: the diversity of values. Mr. Eide dealt with this idea in some detail. In his summary from the chair, he pointed out that the first consequence of participation and planning at the action level is a wide, often conflicting variety of values which must coexist and be accepted as operational within the organisation. The basic character of a system of participation depends upon how far it is based on a commitment to the value of diversity - whether this would mean passive tolerance for, or the creative encouragement of, values which "individualize" and multiply. The first responsibility of the operators in a participatory system would be to promote the freedom necessary to develop diversified values. It is noteworthy that a deliberate effort to promote participation necessarily involves planning and therefore an effort to apply the values associated with planning. Genuine acceptance of the value of diversity, however, means that participation requires a very special application of the integrative values of planning.

Consistency, coherence, productivity, efficiency and maximization are some of the main values usually considered operational for planning. The operational consequences of the value of diversity are in marked contrast to traditional planning values. Eide, von Moltke and Ziegler noted that value diversity is not compatible with an assumption of some overall structure of values or goals as a basis for imposing consistency or coherence on the system. Then also there is no single value basis from which to deduce and impose any particular method or operational technique throughout the system or for the development of measures of productivity and efficiency or the maximization of results for the system as a whole.

Accountability as usually conceived is also greatly transformed in participatory systems. When Prof. Kogan pointed to the need for "managerial accountability to the electorate", Mr. Eide suggested that for participation this could mean that the managers would be held accountable, not for reaching specific targets or results but for creating and maintaining an open system with open-ended results, if, of course, that were the policy objective approved by the electorate.

Another facet in the more general question of accountability relates to the difference between the declared values and goals of education and the actual results, which may be interpreted as the "revealed" values of education. An exchange of opinion between Prof. Anderson and Mr. Eide explored this area. Mr. Anderson held that once committed to necessary educational priorities and goals, educational institutions could be made accountable for these goals but certain side effects - i.e. some students' reactions to grades - would simply have to be accepted as less important. Mr. Eide took the position that educational agencies should be accountable for all of the actual results of its operations, even the unintended ones, on its clients. However, he continued, the human processes involved in education do not allow for the establishment of penalty systems ("accountability") like those common in industry. Therefore, the alternative would be for education to be more under the control of the people, the pupils and students, who directly suffer its consequences.

Another concern of planning, to take into account future values, also tends to support the view of an active role of the clients in a system of accountability. It is generally accepted that research aimed at getting perspective into the future includes looking for those people who for various reasons have a significant "lead" on what the future will, or could, be. Prof. von Moltke reported that typically students in their mid-teens are shown to be ten to fifteen years ahead of their time in their intuitive recognition of new values. Thus - aside from its efficacy as pedagogic technique - allowing students real scope to explore value alternatives could be expected to make a valuable contribution to the total planning function in education.

Another planning value is co-operation as a substitute for political conflict. The establishment of planning usually means bringing in machinery and procedures hopefully designed to replace or to greatly transform politics. However, the operational consequences of the participatory value are in the opposite direction. Where people assume genuine power they evolve from simple categories like "students" and "teachers" - once assumed to be of common mind, to political categories like "left" or "right" wing students. The planners then feel cheated of their efforts to develop their version of rationality as the basis for the process of decision-making.

Equality, another value now accepted as fundamental to the politics of planning, was brought into the discussion. Mr. Pichler stated a widely accepted proposition: that increased participation should be treated as a measure to equalize the educational service going to the less-privileged groups in society. However, there were serious doubts that equality can be served by a system of participatory diversity. Prof. Anderson expressed concern over the growing evidence that freely open participation reveals and increases inequality in education. The stronger or more advantaged people or groups tend to seize more of the opportunities offered by open participation and differences and inequalities then tend to be accentuated.

Mr. Eide agreed that education which aims to provide people with an equal opportunity to run the race for social promotion does not contribute to equality. In fact, such equality is contrary to the values underlying participation. However, there are other possible value interpretations of the notion of equality. Mr. Eide suggested that a corollary to the value of diversity would be increasingly equal respect, resources and rewards for the results of diversity - for people who follow different roles and careers. Participation suggests another value basis for equality: to assure basic equality in treatment to all persons wherever they are in the school or work structure. The values underlying participation suggest people's equal right to control their own fate as individuals whatever their status, and to exercise significant influence over the fate of the society and its organisations to which they belong. This is a different value emphasis than one in which people have an equal opportunity to strive for the social inequality which is the reward for conventional social promotion.

The structure of the job market used as a major basis for establishing operational values for education is also not compatible with the participatory ethos. Values connected with preparation for work would be allowed to grow from the experience of each individual and group in the course of their own education. Mr. Eide noted that this idea was contained in the proposal of a Norwegian Minister of Education to create an educational system in which people were prepared not for jobs as they are, but for jobs as they ought to be.

While participation stresses the values of unique development and diversity, practical progress in this field rests equally upon bringing together the operational implications of such values and those of other values more widely established in organisational life - what may be called integrative values. These latter values - including some of the usual "planning" values named above - become operative in quite new ways in the service of participation. The integrative values must be applied because individual development, as well as particular group development, can occur only within a system of relationships which is fostered and protected. The character of integration fostered by participation is of a different order, since it rests on the general agreement to provide the constitutional framework for diversity. A following section of this account will explore these values further in connection with organisational aspects of participation. On the other hand, the value of diversity can be further explored in some of its apparent consequences for pedagogy.

IV. PEDAGOGY

The values of diversity and integration which underlie participation can be expressed as pedagogical goals: personal autonomy and social responsibility. If these goals become genuinely operational in what pupils, students and teachers do together, "participation" will be a particularly dynamic "subject" in the curriculum. There might be something like measurable "skills" connected with participation as an outcome of school experience (Anderson). However, the idea of participation suggests a focus on the process itself: it is the manner of teaching this "lesson" which is the essence of its content.

The first observation that can be made is that participation in planning would be an integral part of this kind of teaching process. Planning involves fundamental psychological activities. The participant is required to deal with constructive fantasy and define its boundaries with reality. This reality includes time, and the development of personal independence in the young is closely related to fostering their capacity to envision, and take responsibility for, the future. Participation in planning furthermore tends to carry the individual toward socialization since planning constitutes an involvement in the fate of groups and organisations. Thus participation in planning seems particularly to fit into a pedagogical model for the young which aims at developing personal autonomy within a framework of social responsibility.

A persuasive argument for schooling which stresses independence in the development of youth was suggested when Prof. Kogan described what he called the unavoidable task facing each generation of the youth in post-secondary education in today's fast-moving world: to examine, test and restructure virtually the whole field of knowledge which they are supposed to acquire. There could be little doubt that such a general level of intellectual independence would have to be prepared and fostered at all levels of the school system.

Other major problems and characteristics of this kind of pedagogy - "participatory pedagogy" - emerged from the discussion, which included contributions from Prof. von Moltke, Mr. Eide, Mr. Petty, Mr. Löwbeer and Mrs. Wetterström among others.

The most important feature of participatory pedagogy is its aim to bring the structure and substance of educational tasks within the control of the direct participants in education. The pupils and students are the main participants in their own learning and it is their efforts to focus and define their education on the basis of their experience and needs which are emphasized. These efforts are of course limited by their capacities and competences, but the limits to these are an open question and, in any event, the main purpose of this pedagogy is to extend them. In the course of their development toward maturity the young people bring a widening interest in human problems into their definition of the educational task. The adults most directly involved with supporting this process, particularly the teachers, must be given great freedom to participate with the young people in their efforts to develop their control of the educational task.

In operational terms, the definition of the educational task by the participants means that the problems, projects and concepts for educational activities have their origins in the experience of the participants. This experience rarely fits into the fields defined by the academic disciplines and when these are allowed to dominate the curricula they become one of the principal means of denying students control of the educational task. Thus, a third tendency in education oriented towards participation is for it to be inter-disciplinary and this tendency appears at all levels of such education.

A fourth important feature of participatory pedagogy is that it puts the control of time and timing largely into the hands of the pupils and students. Time is each person's fundamental asset, and for young people its particular significance is that the capacity to take control of one's own time is essential to the development of personal autonomy. Yet the most pervasive feature of traditional education is its pre-emption of the control of time. A wide range of pedagogical opinion has suggested that effective education would closely respond to the actual rhythms, timing and developmental calendars of the individual, which would include the individual's relationship to groups in their organised use of time. This opinion particularly obviates the use of time as the convenient and major measure for evaluation and the social sorting out of pupils and students. Once the calendars of schooling would be freed from rigidities not dictated by the requirements of tradition, there would also be important gains in freedom for teachers and other adults responsible for the educational process. It was noted (von Moltke) that the open school can best be defined as a system in which the student's freer use of time encourages explorative use of the "space" - institutions and facilities - available for education.

A fifth feature of participatory pedagogy noted in the meeting was that the roles in the teaching-learning process are redefined on the basis of equal recognition of the full personhood of all the participants in this process. Free from any system of sanctions, the participants in the educational process can develop new appreciations of the rights and responsibilities attached to their roles. For example, the teachers or other adults in authority give up the function of evaluating pupils and students for placement in education. Therefore, this pedagogy stresses the development of self-evaluation, a process which must be understood and practised by the teachers acting as role-models.

Experience shows that such pedagogical developments face great problems and controversies which cannot be easily separated from issues involving the power and purposes of various groups. It is not difficult to raise examples which present difficulties for the pedagogy of participation. Mr. Goldschmidt cited sex education as such an example from Danish experience. The question posed was whose viewpoint in this area should prevail: the teachers? health authorities? church authorities? the conservative parents in one area and the liberal ones in another? the young people? etc. The advantage of broadened participation in pedagogical developments is that as soon as such a question is genuinely posed without there being a foregone conclusion, the way is opened up for the introduction of new, more relevant information and the chances for a better decision are increased.

Mr. Goldschmidt reported that the experience with the 1970 law establishing 200 "Boards of Study" - whose composition is divided equally between students and teachers - has been very positive. These boards exercise power over university curricula, examinations and the hiring of non-research teachers and yet there have been only 5 to 10 individual cases of unresolved conflict requiring action by the Minister during the first three years.

However, it was obvious that even among ostensible supporters, and recognizing their national, local or institutional antecedents, there is room for wide variation in the interpretation of the above principles of participatory pedagogy. This situation, Mr. Löwbeer said, emphasized the pivotal importance of teacher training. A participatory system in education, he continued, is only as good as the practitioners who lead it in the classroom. Expressing his agreement with the analyses of Prof. Jaques and Prof. Westley on the need to transform role relationships, he emphasized the new human skills involved. Planning for participation would do well to concentrate on how to orient both the teachers in service and new recruits toward such a pedagogical perspective. One step that would seem to be called for would be to give the student-teachers a major voice in teacher education.

What did appear to be obvious was that although the values connected with the idea of participation suggested certain steps in pedagogy, such logical congruence did not always work out in practice. As had been noted in examples in the discussion on participation as a question of power, awakened interest in participation, teacher militancy and the community control movement are not necessarily accompanied by more student participation in the daily decisions connected with their own education. Moreover, another position in this connection was shown when Mr. Löwbeer confirmed that one notably successful experiment in the development of pupil autonomy in the lower schools was dispersed when it was apparent that the upper schools were not ready to receive such pupils.

Not only is participatory pedagogy not an assured outcome of increased adult participation in the authority structure of education, such pedagogy requires a significant measure of "environmental" support in the organisation beyond the classroom for it to survive.

V. ORGANISATIONAL POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT

Purposes and Negotiation

Participation becomes a reality only when the participants have an effective voice both in the purposes of the organisation and in making these purposes operational. To have such power of decision and action at its disposal, the organisation must itself have a large measure of autonomy: Organisation for participation must maintain an "external" aspect of autonomy - a capacity to proceed against external pressures - as well as "internal" features providing for autonomy of the individual units within the organisation. It became clear from the discussion that in the case of education such autonomy implies control of at least four crucial aspects of its operation:

i) Control of the structure and content of the educational task;
ii) Control of personnel training for the system;
iii) Control of the structure and flows of resources and rewards; and
iv) Control of planning.

The meeting recognized the difficulty involved in proceeding from general principle to more specific organisational prescriptions for a system of controls in these areas. The creation of such organisational policy and measures, Prof. Kogan pointed out, involves a negotiation among groups for new institutional and social orders. The tensions of emerging new social relationships which are manifest in modern social institutions seem to call for such renegotiations, he said. In most situations this negotiation is likely to require an extended period of time and, as Mr. Papadopoulos observed, participation would imply its being created by a participatory process. Prof. von Hentig emphasized that in this opinion people are likely to reject participatory organisations which are handed to them or imposed upon them. They should therefore be given the freedom to mould gradually their own particular forms of participatory organisation. Planning, it was agreed, should contribute to the strategies for such developments. While the meeting could not go in depth into specific prescriptions for developing the system of controls for participation, it did explore some of the main principles and considerations for the representative system and the administrative system in which such controls would be developed.

An hypothesis from the Secretariat paper introduced by Prof. Ziegler that ultimately close relationships develop between the educational "mission", the learning-teaching activities of the classroom and the "learning" style of the whole educational organisation was accepted as logical and as giving point to various formulations of objectives of the organisation for participation. Mr. Pasarić held that such organisation involved the problem of integrating "self-managed" people into wider groups and higher levels of organisation, defined in terms of a five-point "autonomy" scale (ranging from the right of goal-selection to no influence on goals). Mr. Hyland conceived of the educational organisation as an "organic" system which therefore does not operate according to the rules of the "zero-sum game" and has greater capacity to resolve group conflict; Prof. Kogan and Prof. Jaques showed how participation could co-exist with hierarchic forms of organisation; and Prof. von Moltke and Prof. von Hentig dealt with humanizing bureaucracy and hierarchy by controlling such characteristics as size. Prof. Plunkett commented on organisation requirements for participation in terms of the need to reconcile the individual, the status group and the plurality of the whole.

An overriding issue is the extent to which the choice of organisational arrangements is dependent upon the purpose to be served. Can a particular scheme for organising participation in education be considered "wrong" or "right" until such questions as the kind of education we want or the amount of power to be given to the various groups are answered? Prof. Anderson argued that organisational forms are not necessarily isomorphic with the structure of purposes of the organisation, but that they can be bent to serve a variety of purposes. In an examination of related issues both viewpoints seemed, in different ways, to be substantiated. The purposes which underlie specific organisational policies and measures appropriate to particular country situations can be found, and, on the other hand, any given organisation could be expected to serve, within limits, a range of purposes. The organisation for participation was shown to involve representational and administrative aspects, both of which are required to make it functional.

Representation

To many people the essence of participation is its system of representation. Especially beyond the "action level" of student-teacher relationships, participation does imply a system of representation in policy bodies of the various organisation levels in education. A participation system, however, must protect itself from representative bodies which proliferate merely as a short-term means to serve political ends. Nor should representational activities be allowed to "smother" the organisation by leaving too little resources, time and leeway to develop the administrative side of the participation system. Therefore the "technical" tasks for the development of representation were noted as an important concern for the future of participation. These include establishing:

1) recognition of various groups, sections and levels in the educational organisation,
2) the areas of policy related to these segments and
3) the location and character of representative policy bodies.

Such terms constitute an important part of the political order of an educational system.

Some participants in the meeting, starting from the assumption that the education system is basically accountable to the top political authority in government, described representational bodies established within the system in terms of their supportive function to this authority. Such bodies can be a means to register public reactions, organise support, co-opt politically awkward opposition, etc. The representation of the public through its elected government is therefore not challenged or even seriously supplemented by these extra representative bodies.

However, the demand for more direct participation in policy-making and management of public services, such as education, has led to suggestions that such representative bodies could be strengthened to form a "second circuit" of democracy, giving access to new lines of influence.

One possible model for such representative schemes would follow the lines of a consumer organisation, thus separating the "second circuit" of representation completely from the educational establishment. Prof. Kogan took the lead in raising the subject of the "consumer's union" model for participation in education. He emphasized the danger of the "independent" representatives being "socialized" into the establishment, being therefore unable to perform a needed critical function. Mr. Harding used the analogy of medical services, pointing out that a former hospital patient might have useful comments to make but would not have the time or interest to master management or technical aspects of the field. Prof. von Moltke pointed out that the analogy with hospitalization service could be misleading for education insofar as it suggested that the consumers - the students - should be relatively passive recipients. Such passivity should not be the case even if the parents are considered to be the real consumers of their children's education, on the assumption that they pay. Since pupils-students are or should be an integral part of the educational process, it would seem unlikely that their competence to criticize it could be based on the idea of maintaining "distance" as "consumers" of a product called education.

If the community school idea includes a concept of participation, it seems to imply that parents and others (in this case) would indeed be "socialized" and would identify with the work of the school. This discussion emphasized that increased participation means closer relationships between the clients and their educators, implying more "socialization"; the organisation problem is how to overcome some of the fears of this closeness - fears which are implicit in the arm's length posture of the "consumer's union" model. Nevertheless, the meeting showed that the question deserved further study to reveal circumstances when the consumer analogy would side-track efforts by students and the public to gain more direct participation or when it would form the basis for a useful tactic.

The discussion of representational schemes was sufficient only to illustrate the size of the inquiry necessary to get a useful picture of this field. Such examples as the community control movement or the state-wide organisation of citizen goal-planning committees in the United States, and citizen membership on various governing or advisory bodies in the United Kingdom and Sweden, would have to be examined more closely to see the extent to which the "participants" are policy captives or participators. Mr. Arai offered the proposition that well-organised survey research is an effective form of participation.

Little of this discussion dealt with experiences in pupil representation in governance at the school level although interesting instances were mentioned in passing. It was recognized that this too was a promising field for inquiry.

At the university level, however, the problems of representational systems arose as a major topic of discussion. This discussion showed that planning can proceed only when the issue of representation has been resolved. Prof. von Hentig gave some details of the representational schemes being developed and legalized for German universities which illustrated various positions in the power bargaining in these institutions: for example, one third representation each for students, assistant professors and full professors, or some other variation in proportion, giving full professors half of the votes. At Bremen, Prof. Sommerkorn

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reported, an equal representation was given to academics, students, and non-academic personnel. Experience reported backs up the observation that these traditional age or functional groups do not become the major sources of division.

The politicization which in some instances seems to have swamped the educational task in German universities has appeared with less force elsewhere. However, certain problems have appeared, generally. For example, participants should distinguish between competences needed for representation in policy-making bodies and competences needed for educational tasks (Abrahams). However, intense politicization tends to cause people to fuse these competences together. Furthermore, no representational system is proof against suppression of, or domination by, minorities. Such systems require the gradual development of constitutional rules and procedures which, based on principles such as those suggested in some of the papers submitted (Eide, von Moltke, Jaques, Ziegler), would cover not only representational matters but also administrative organisation.

Hierarchy and Administration

Participation does not do away with the need for hierarchy. This principle was made clear at many points in the discussion. Furthermore, the meeting applied a corrective to the use of the word "accountability" which, particularly in education, has been pre-empted by those who take it to mean the one-way flow upward in a hierarchy of evaluations which are made in the name of ultimate accountability to an authority outside the educational organisation.

Hierarchic organisation can be designed primarily to answer the need for an administrative structure to handle policies and measures at various levels of generality for the organisation. This technical hierarchy need not dictate the directions of accountability. For example, if the higher policy-making or administrative bodies were the creatures of the ones below them, accountability would pass in the opposite direction. Participation implies a change in who is accountable to whom and for what, and the organisational structure would express the specified changes. One aim of a participatory organisation can be to have lines of accountability which are reciprocal.

The discussion showed that specifying the features of such an administrative organisation would be a long-term task which should be geared to the particular characteristics and circumstances of the organisation concerned. Each educational system or institution would warrant its own study. There were, however, several interventions which dealt with principles underlying such organisation and some of the dynamics of its development.

Hierarchies, pointed out Prof. Ziegler, are legitimated by notions of authority, many of which today are subject to severe erosion. Under these circumstances when hierarchs attempt to exercise authority, they tend to use power and coercion which reveals the underlying repressiveness of the hierarchy and further erodes the notions which give it legitimacy.

Thus, while it can be postulated, Mr. Eide suggested, that the hierarchic organisation in a participatory system would "feel" and appear differently to the participants, practical concerns turn our attention to existing situations in educational organisations. They often illustrate how repression in a hierarchic system becomes apparent only as it begins to be relaxed. Real repression is characterized by a lack of awareness of repression. Experience shows that a movement towards relaxation does not result in greater "satisfaction" as it is usually defined: students who for the first time discover new alternatives will bid for completely unrealistic ones and then uncertainty will appear in the new system, but for new reasons.

The elusive nature of this problem was illustrated by a brief exchange between Prof. von Moltke who suggested that participation required manageably small units because the inhumanity of big bureaucracies defeats the efforts of even the most "humane hierarchs"; and Prof. von Hentig who thought big organisations might be less repressive because their size gave them a "natural untidiness" and left more room for manœuvre.

What was remarkable was that, in interventions, Member country education systems were in most cases described as largely decentralized and usually in the hands of a sizeable number of local political units. Thus it was not monolithic hierarchy that was the target of critique here. Rather there was some concern that some unifying structure might be needed to establish and to protect a system of participation. A very decentralized system (United States) may be characterized by great uniformities, imposed by wider informal organisations ("professional" standards, textbook companies, etc.) beyond the capacity of local people to control. Interventions concerning the United Kingdom showed how local bodies could be dominated by one or another minority of the school constituency. Thus, the possible role of central authorities in a more comprehensive hierarchy which would assure the rights of weaker people and groups at local levels was a theme raised repeatedly during this meeting.

The discussion highlighted the fact that in participation hierarchy and uncertainty are juxtaposed. Administrative structure and procedure for participation are required to provide effective channels for activities originating at many points of initiative. This administration must be strong enough to protect spontaneous developments and to tolerate wide areas of uncertainty. Thus, it must establish a hierarchic structure whose purpose and operations are very clearly defined, because the basic purpose of hierarchy remains unchanged: to bring about certainty in the areas for which it is established.

One kind of pattern, suggested by experiences described, might help the organisation to accommodate these aspects of participation. This pattern features the "rolling" development of parts of the organisation as special points of more intense participatory activity. These are allowed, even encouraged, to "surface" and develop with explicit protection; in them new roles, styles and experimentation are legitimated; and they are afforded high levels of visibility and exchange within the organisation as a whole (Kogan). Prototypes of development which seem to move in this direction could be sought and studied at institutional or system-wide levels. Illustrative is perhaps the relationship, described by Prof. von Moltke in his paper, between the participation-oriented "Collegiate System" and the State University at Buffalo which nurtured it, if somewhat uncomfortably, and then drew strength from it, and the relationship between some of the experimental schools in Norway and the total educational system. Prof. Westley and Prof. Jaques noted that in industry it was often those companies with the most secure hierarchic structures which allowed for the widest freedom for experimental deviation, and the precedent was cited of the protection given in some countries by the public authorities to experiments such as the "free schools" which would otherwise have died in isolation. However, these are limited bits of evidence which do not show what the organisational dynamics would be if such activities were part of the major stream of development, challenging existing authority structures. Prof. Ziegler suggested that when people are given some new, even small, part in the control of their organisation they tend to reach for more, and out of a process of this kind they might develop a new system of authority with a new basis for its legitimation. The problem facing planners and other responsible authorities is how they could contribute to the strategies facilitating such developments. Only a beginning could be made in this direction as a basis for proposing further work in this field.

VI. STRATEGIES AND PLANNING

The fundamental strategy for the development of a participatory system is to let the participants develop it. The policy framework and organisational arrangements for participation must anticipate the main points of leverage to make participation initially function and develop, given the people involved, their circumstances and the task that they have assumed. But such initial planning should not burden the future participants with a system heavy with answers to all possible contingencies. The policy-makers and planners working for participation should recognize the contradiction in any effort to hand the participants a tight and ready-made system. These statements summarize the sense of the meeting in this problem area.

Many interventions dealt in some way with strategies for participation. For example, Mr. Olson suggested that participation depended primarily on winning over the highly placed people in educational policy who have the power to set it in motion. Prof. von Moltke, on the other hand, claimed that participation comes to new groups of people only when they stridently demand it and seize it. Prof. von Hentig and Mr. Pasarić, in different ways, dealt with the fundamental consideration of strategies which could allow education to aim at a participatory mode beyond that prevailing in the society at large. If planners and the planning organisation in education do make the political choice for participation, then they should be as free as other groups to develop a perspective for strategy and a related programme of activities which would reflect their special competences.

The purpose of participation is to create an organisation which "learns" and within this process planning should make one of the important "pedagogical" contributions. In keeping with the fundamental strategy as stated above, however, it should be the role of planners not to usurp the function of planning in the organisation, even though as professionals it is their right and duty to try to master planning as a "field" and as a body of techniques.

Just what the field and techniques of planning would be in the context of participation is the great open question which is largely the subject of the remainder of this report. The first step in a preliminary excursion into this area is to recall that in a participatory organisation the aim is to search for ways in which planning can occur in close connection with action. The focal problem, as it has clearly emerged here, in participatory action is its effort to change role relationships. This means that planning must find its way into those areas of study which would promote an understanding and a re-ordering of role-relationships.

"Mapping" the Field for Participation and the Socio-Technical Study

The country representatives from the Netherlands, Mr. Veldkamp and Mr. Verburg, took the lead in expressing Member country interest in practical methodological help towards getting an initial grasp of the structure of relationships in education within which participation would have to be developed. The methodological proposal advanced by the Netherlands representatives themselves was to conduct a kind of "mapping of the field" for participation. Such a study would involve an effort to describe systematically what decisions are made at each level of the educational system and by whom and, at the same time, would attempt an initial prescription as to what decisions could or should be made by whom. In subsequent interventions it became clear that any number of frameworks could be applied to such an inquiry, but those offered tended to stress either the structure of things to be done in education (the activity structure), or the structure of people's social relationships in doing them (the social structure). These two aspects must of course be closely inter-related, and they constitute the two general elements of the socio-technical study, which will be briefly discussed later. The two emphases were illustrated by Prof. Anderson who asked "What is the typology of participatory practices ... that we may begin to scrutinize and identify those that are the most suitable and practicable?" and Prof. Jaques who said, "Decisions are in fact being made. Our first job is to ask, Who is making them?"

Prof. Anderson suggested that "The strategy is to decide which of the participatory processes can be most readily adopted now and which would yield the largest estimated improvement in operation of schools in a particular society". He tentatively proposed a consideration of participatory practices in two broad, admittedly overlapping, categories:

a) participation for maintaining the framework that facilitates the educational process and
b) participation for increasing the quality of the learning-teaching process.

He included for example "inducing a larger flow of resources into education", and "participation in 'housekeeping' within schools" under "framework" (a); and "introducing more non-bureaucratic input into curriculum design" and "encouraging a more self-conscious invention of professional instructional tactics" under "quality of the learning-teaching process" (b). His detailed summary of examples under these two headings is attached to this review.

In dealing with the structure of relationships in participation, Prof. Jaques limited himself to the institutional level and this allowed him to focus on how the roles of each group identified warranted particular voice and influence in relation to other groups. He indicated the need to study and conceptualize the nature of these relationships as a basis for institutionalizing the participation of each group. He asked, for example, what would be the basis for teachers current non-participation in policy-making by the head-master? What parts of the communities surrounding schools should have various representations in the school (the parents, the proximate neighbourhood, the taxing area, etc.)? How could the participation of students be delineated in their relationships to head-masters, teachers, the parent community, etc. Prof. Jaques postulated the need for very different institutional arrangements for the participation of teachers, as against parents and students, for example. He repeated that his concept of the social relationships at the university level is that individual professors, students and graduates are functionally

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members of the same academic "association" in which they should have a full voice in policy; other sectors in the organisation, administrators, caretakers, etc. are in this view "employees" of this association.

Jaques' approach to this problem, however, was more significant in the manner of the inquiry he suggested. He proposed starting from the assumption that people already do participate in the decisions and operations of education and that the starting point should be: What decisions are being made? Whom do they affect? and What voice do these people have? This kind of inquiry should lead individuals and groups involved in education to become sufficiently conscious of the actual nature of their relationships to provide them with a basis for raising questions as to what their participation could or should be. They would begin to recognize how they could correct a situation in which their participation in the important affairs of education "has been left to chance".

This form of inquiry was close to the kind of planning research proposed and developed in the paper by Mrs. Susan Balloch. Mr. Hayward brought to the attention of the meeting her proposal for a form of planning inquiry which could be basic to the development of participation. The first element in the inquiry she proposed was to engage all the groups involved in education in a systematic process of self-identification. This process would include identifying their own roles, status relationships, self-concepts, perceptions of other groups, aspirations and other related material. In the course of their participation in this inquiry they would become more aware of their own positions in a structure and could therefore be in a better position to consider possible alternatives. Such study could obviously take on the character of action-research which would affect evaluations and negotiations in an on-going re-ordering of participatory arrangements.

To put this kind of inquiry into the context of the "technical" characteristics of the educational system, in terms of its established or available operating methods, facilities and "technologies", its background of relevant scientific development, and of legal, administrative and other formal structures, is the aim of the socio-technical study. Prof. Westley referred briefly to his paper which dealt with this key type of study. For education the socio-technical study would provide some of the necessary background for bringing the purposes of socially defined groups specifically to bear on the technical considerations in participation policy. For example, Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Eide, in speculating about how participation would develop for specific groups, both saw reasons why the role of parents of teenagers would be different and more sharply limited than that of parents of younger pupils. However, the technical knowledge about the freedom required for teenage development is likely to be accepted only by those who agree with the social directions implied in this kind of development. Fostering socio-technical study could be a continuing contribution of planning in a participation-oriented educational system which by definition would have to interface its social system - particularly its informal aspects - with the technical operations of education. A general methodology for this kind of study could be developed, said Westley, and adapted to particular country educational situations. There were many expressions of interest that this should be done, particularly on the part of country representatives.

Planning for Participation: Some General Considerations

The notion of participation suggests a vital change in the social and organisational role of the planner and the planning agency. The decision greatly to increase participation in education is a political one in which planners can share, but such a decision also carries with it considerable implications and consequences both for the content of planning work and for the relationship of the planners to the rest of the organisation.

Prof. Ziegler was invited to summarize his conclusions from his experience in the development of popular participation in technical exercises in long-term planning. He reported that the 3,000 people who had thus far engaged in the programme at EPRC (1) have clearly demonstrated that people from all walks of life have a high capacity to engage in disciplined speculation about the future if it is the kind of future that they themselves want. Getting needed data and acquiring appropriate skills present few problems as long as the futures they are developing have some meaning to them at their level of action, where their intervention is operational. Furthermore, as people engage in this kind of activity, they tend to move their reference points to wider horizons. This experience indicates, said Ziegler, that an underlying hypothesis laid down for this meeting is a feasible one: that planners could with success change their orientation to teaching others to plan, transferring their techniques, skills, methods and information base as rapidly as possible throughout the system for which they previously had the responsibility to plan.

Mr. Eide spelled out the organisational implications of this new definition of the planner's role. The planner would be one, possibly expert, factor in a function that would be diffused throughout the organisation. Furthermore despite the vast increase in the size of his constituency, he would lose power because he would have to renounce prescription completely as the outcome of his work. Finally, the planner might well have to cut his special "line to the Minister's ear"; he would have to stop being the "king's man" in order to fulfill his new social relationships and serve the widespread planning function.

Several notes concerning the incentives that planners might have to take this pathway were sounded by Prof. Anderson and Mr. Petty. They recalled the dreary record of the small proportion of all official planning in education which leads to implementation, and, Mr. Petty added, "The future generations will reject our plans". If prescriptive planning has been a largely futile activity, the prospect of a new role in a broadened function of planning might be a welcome one.

That this role would call on planners to develop a new order of social and political skills was stressed by Mr. Olson: "conflict manager, linkage agent, facilitator".

The manner and content of planning work for participation would have many new features and would present formidable technical problems. Some of these were summarized by Mr. Eide: Beginning on the negative side, the first thing to go would be mystification, that is, the usual weapon of all expertise. The fact that some "sophistication" also might have to be sacrified for the sake of practical involvement would not make the technical tasks any simpler. The most important deletion would be the "one dimensional" model - the projection of education as if it serves only one dominant objective, which it never does. "Perhaps one third of all educational planning work still retains this character."

Mr. Eide continued his summary saying that it follows that educational participation would require the development of open-ended models for the future of education. This is of course in contrast to conventional models which project education from fixed objectives to points of closed

1. Educational Policy Research Center, Syracuse, New York.

future decisions. New ideas would be pursued in planning which have been avoided because of their awkward research characteristics, such as the study of interactions between organisations, or the costs of uncertainty.

New ideas in education also would be explored, particularly through involvement in experimentation and in contributing to the protection of such experimentation.

A final addition to this general list of planning work was the development of the participation system itself.

It is obvious that for success participatory systems are most in need of planning, pointed out Prof. Westley. This is because the aim of such planning is not manipulation but the effective creation of a social seed from which a social action, participation, can grow. Furthermore, the demand made ultimately on this kind of planning is far more stringent: it must reach down into the classroom. Something new must be happening between the young people and their teachers for it to be called participatory planning.

Some Perspectives for Future Work

Three general kinds of programme for future international work were proposed and discussed during the final stages of this meeting.

1) Exercises in "mapping" the participation relationships in country educational systems, to discover the actual lines and content of participation by groups at each level of the system. Comparative surveys for several countries (Lōwbeer, Verburg, Eide).
2) Studies of cases where an advanced level of participation has developed, selected systematically to include various levels and types of institutions, local areas, regions, country-wide systems, etc. (Westley, Eide).
3) Study of the modes of planning, and the requirements for planners, for participation (Ziegler, Kaplan).

Within these three types of study programme all of the concerns developed in this meeting could be explored. All three would require quite similar analytical contributions and on the basis of the study of particular cases and planning modes it was strongly felt that a workshop procedure would be most fruitful.

Appendix

"MAPPING" PARTICIPATION: IDENTIFYING AREAS FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF PARTICIPATION

Prof. C. Arnold Anderson in offering the following detailed illustrations noted that this a first attempt to look for "a typology of participatory practices or situations ..." (1)

A. Participation for maintaining the framework that facilitates the educational process

1. Enlisting support to raise the utilization of educational opportunities (e. g., informational and discussion programmes for parents of secondary pupils so that the attractions of post-secondary training can be more fully appreciated).
2. Inducing a larger flow of resources into education and illuminating the understanding of how benefits and costs of education are distributed (e. g., encouraging the more educogenic communities to shift some educational costs to private account so that public funds may be allocated in greater degree to lagging areas).
3. Participation in "housekeeping" within schools (e. g., in boarding schools cut down use of servants by requiring students to devote some hours each week to these duties).
4. Enlist volunteer and sub-professional assistants to teachers (e. g., particularly for subjects using only a few hours of teacher time per week, as foreign language, remedial reading, artisan crafts ; turn teaching over to suitably qualified local residents).
5. Carrying out evaluation of performance and insuring conformity to standards (e. g., where citizens make up school boards, arouse their interest in certifying quality of local schools and working out measures of "learning added" for money spent).
6. Enlarging sphere of autonomy for developing pedagogic competence (e. g., devising arrangements for superior teachers to develop, discuss, and persist in their practices despite restrictions by teachers' associations and administrators).

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1. Cf. p. 58.

7. Recording and publicizing of innovative practices (e. g., an unchanging school system usually develops a large structure of dysfunctioning practices unless innovative teachers can be enabled to be in communication with their more conventional workmates).

8. Drawing parents and other non-professionals into planning decisions (e. g., consultative committees of varied sets of laymen systematically arrayed as part of technical planning teams).

9. Establishing a grievance procedure (one or more ombudsmen) to insure access to remedial actions (e. g., such protectors are needed for parents, teachers, pupils, and both professional and lay representatives for other services such as health).

B. Participation for increasing the quality of the learning-teaching process:

1. Introducing more non-bureaucratic input into curriculum design (e. g., insuring that recent enrollees in a given segment of the educational system can contribute their judgments to evaluation of the worth of their recent training).

2. Fostering responsible professional audit with merit assessments that entail definite rewards for quality teaching (e. g., balanced teams of assessors involved in evaluating professional performance across people-serving agencies: social service agencies, medical clinics, schools).

3. Encouraging a more self-conscious invention of professional instructional tactics (e. g., introducing in-service training of teachers to understand how to analyse small group interactions such as make up instructional situations).

4. Assisting pupils to deliberately work out an individual style of learning (e. g., since just studying as one chooses rarely is superior to drill, conscious discovery of a congenial and effective mode of individualized learning can be encouraged).

5. Upholding a "discipline" of learners while dependable self-directed learning styles are worked out (e. g., motives appropriate to selection among offered incentives can be developed only through instructional practices that constrain the pupil while he is developing autonomy).

6. Suitable grievance procedures (e. g., in a situation in which innovation is frequent and norms of quality rise steadily, innovative instructors especially need to have their autonomy protected against colleagues' restrictive practices).

Part Two

EXPERIMENTS IN PARTICIPATION

INTRODUCTION

The following twelve papers report educational planning experience ranging from national to institutional levels, in a number of OECD countries, emphasizing its participation aspects. The fact that these reports reflect the viewpoints of responsible officials who have been directly involved, is an important element in the information which they contribute to this field. Thus the great differences shown in the circumstances for participation in educational planning are accompanied by important differences in perception of participation. The radical devolution of power to the most local level in Yugoslavian education, in order to develop its "self-management" as part of the national policy for all social and economic institutions (Pasarić), is in contrast to the gradual historical development of participation projected for the United Kingdom (Harding), or the reported emphasis by Japanese central authorities on opinion research surveys and public hearings as perhaps the major means for participation (Arai). The development of French and Swedish educational planning is sketched in broad strokes (Praderie, Corpet and Löwbeer) as part of the national political scene, while reports from Canada and the United States (Bergstrom, Kaplan and Olson) must necessarily put together the trends in the various states or provinces.

The tendency toward abstraction in all of these efforts to deal with whole educational systems is somewhat counter-balanced in accounts of what takes place in single institutions (von Moltke, Abrahams, Sommerkorm and Wetterström). The reports from university institutions, however, deal more directly with specific pedagogical operations as they are related to participation and planning. (Here an omission should be mentioned, because it is not a deliberate one: namely, descriptions of current experiences in participatory organisation and pedagogy at the school levels - an omission, it can be hoped, that will be corrected elsewhere.) However, despite these differences in concept and viewpoint, one thread at least runs throughout these reports. It is a sense that participation everywhere involves a concern for far-reaching change in education, and that this is somehow related to a broader critique of modern societies.

There remains the need to take note of some of the important material from papers that were made available to the meeting but are not included in this volume (see Annex I). A report from Germany summarized the situation in each of the Land and the Federal government. In a second paper Mr. Knut Neverman of the Max Planck Institute summarized the work being done at the time of this meeting in the Commission of the German Education Council on "Autonomy for Schools and

Participation in School Matters". His report showed that the Commission was thinking in terms of the most advanced principles of participation. However, the final report of the Commission, promised as part of the final information to this OECD exercise, reveals that the proposals were altered in order to gain the widest possible support from various interest groups concerned. Despite this development the report concludes:

> "The recommendations in broad lines generally accepted by the public have nevertheless met with some criticism and partial rejection, and it is felt that immediate realization will not be forthcoming."

It should be emphasized, however, that since the primary responsibility for education in Germany lies with each Land, there was reported a good deal of latitude for difference and experiment, and generalizations may not fit the actual situation.

In Canada, where the operation of education is also the responsibility of provincial governments, the experience of Quebec during the past fifteen years was summarized in a paper by M. Pierre Fontaine. A period of rapid expansion, creating new educational sectors such as the CEGEP (Colleges of Vocational and General Education) was accompanied by widespread public consultation. Fontaine reported that this educational development created both a further public demand for education and for participation in its policy planning which central planning authorities are attempting to integrate into their formal procedures and structures.

The mechanisms for participation in the Netherlands are perhaps too new for definite statements on their operation. However, the country submissions indicated commitment of the Dutch to move in the direction of participation for higher education. Probabilities in this field for primary and secondary school levels "are still being studied". (Report by Dr. P. Verburg and Summary of the Proposed Planning System for Higher Education in the Netherlands.)

Mr. Hans Meijer, Rector of the University of Linköping, succinctly summarized the nation-wide political inter-play in Sweden since 1968 between university democratization and other sectors of society in terms which have broad general interest.

> "The blaze of student activity in 1968 and the demand for a democratization, which gave students increased influence within the universities, nourished and lent support to corresponding demands from all the other categories of university personnel - from young teachers to clerical and technical staffs. The argument was roughly as follows: if the students - who have after all a relatively short-term engagement in the universities - were given a decisive influence on university planning, then those groups of employees - whether teachers or others - who had so far been excluded from faculty and university committees should be given a voice equal to that of professors or students. The nation-wide and politically extremely important trade unions to which this personnel belonged, actively supported their members' demands; a breakthrough for worker influence over university activities could lead to corresponding changes in other areas of public administration, and be a powerful argument for increased industrial democracy in the private sector."

As the participation scheme in Swedish universities has developed since 1968 the student interest in participation has markedly declined, in contrast to the steadily increasing activity of trade union represented employees of the university. However, reports Meijer, "Apprehensions that, owing to their more short-term interest in university activity, the students might be little concerned with longer-term measures and investments have scarcely been justified. On the whole, then, activity has continued without any radical changes, despite the fact that the decision-making bodies in the Swedish university world have an entirely different composition than they had a few years ago."

As it can be seen from the above review of the meeting and from some of the papers below, whether this result is interpreted as a success or not might still be an open question.

Finally, there was Mr. W. H. Petty's report for the County of Kent which largely substantiated the local situation described for the United Kingdom in the paper by Mr. Harding. Reports from Spain and Turkey detailed current developments in the planning mechanisms of those countries.

In all of these papers not only reportage but theoretical suggestions and interpretations of principle abound, which brings them closer to the following set of papers concerned with conceptual developments in this field (Part Three).

I

PARTICIPATION IN FRENCH EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

French planning has a history which dates back to 1946, a time when a serious reconstruction effort under strong government leadership was called for. Since then five-year plans have followed on the heels of each other, 1972 being the midpoint of the Sixth Plan.

However deep its roots, the planning concept has been a source of increasing disillusion for the various social groups concerned. Quite apart from the political opposition which a plan submitted to Parliament naturally arouses, the "burning obligation" that planning was intended to become is viewed with growing disbelief.

The reasons are many. The first is of course political since, once the idea of participation underlying planning methods was presented by the governmental authority as a political doctrine, it was looked upon as a trap by various socio-economic groups. The more these groups are asked to support a form of dialogue which they rightly or wrongly suspect may implicate them, the more wary will they be. French planning, indicative rather than compulsory, has in fact encouraged this sceptical attitude by its very achievements. Since the State itself may fail to implement the planning content, people are hardly inclined to trust the system implicitly.

The second reason lies in the way ambiguity of policy is reflected from a technical standpoint. Babeau and Derycke (1) attribute this to the confusion of forecasts with objectives. If objectives are stated, a plan should consistently combine measures which will enable the objectives to be achieved. If it is limited to a number of forecasts it can, with no detriment whatsoever to the democratic process, be merely an exercise undertaken by economic and social analysts. The ambiguous combination of both perspectives is unsatisfactory: first, certain changes which the public authority is largely powerless to influence are not clearly seen as development constraints and, secondly, the State's own sphere of action appears to elude the normative decisions which the political authority might take.

Such a planning "crisis" is really quite normal. The worst that could happen is that the socio-political system should prove incapable of overcoming it. The questions at issue are great indeed, one being the role of the State in present French society and the other, the economic and social decision-making process.

While these are questions eternally debated they take on a special dimension in a centralized country with an omnipresent administration. The concerted planning approach was devised at a time when its expediency and the effectiveness of resulting decisions were largely accepted, but the target of "participation" set in recent years does not seem to be re-

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1. Babeau and Derycke, Problèmes de planification, Sirey, Paris, 1967.

flected in discussions held among various management groups now shown to be somewhat sterile and outdated. Participation again raises the problem of decentralization and more generally that of defining and exercising responsibilities at local level.

In educational matters a further dimension is added. While economically speaking healthy competition may be in the general interest, socially it may not. The search for the easiest road may cause fully autonomous units to adopt a selective policy, with the result that existing social inequalities are inevitably maintained or increased. A certain laxity of approach may moreover lead to an uneven quality of diplomas issued, which will also discriminate in favour of families having financial or cultural advantages.

Conversely, rigid educational systems leaving no room for local initiative and decision-making are inefficient, costly and politically vulnerable. To introduce a widespread form of participation into educational planning, a strategy which takes account of many different constraints and goals must be carefully thought out. Not the least of these constraints is an educational system designed for young people whose method of participation adults find hard to accept. There arises, therefore, a problem of communication which is not easy to solve. That adults, parents and educators should alone be allowed to define school objectives is no doubt a convenient way out but is bound to be dangerous in the long run.

II. THE EDUCATIONAL PLANNING SYSTEM BASED ON INSTITUTIONALIZED CONCERTED ACTION, WHICH IS NOT REALLY PARTICIPATION

The official draft of the Sixth Plan, submitted to Parliament in July 1971, describes in its preamble the significance attached to planning in France, a significance which also applies to educational problems.

> "It is certainly not a question of defining in minute detail the activities of enterprises and of other economic agents: in an economy as open and decentralized as our own, any such planning would be a fallacy. On the other hand it is more necessary than ever to undertake periodic assessments of the country's economic and social situation, to analyse the problems it faces, to determine which policies and actions are capable of solving the problems, and more generally to provide a frame of reference for official policy and for the activities of the French population as a whole. The Plan is just that.
>
> "Like the five other Plans, the Sixth Plan is also the product of a lengthy process of study, discussion and consultation shared in by many thousands of people in the modernization commissions, committees, working parties and joint groups set up under the Planning Commissariat and in the various regional bodies.
>
> "Since the Fifth Plan, significant progress has been made: action is certainly more effectively concerted in the planning commissions and in the regional councils; planning techniques have been improved by using integrated economic models, by applying the principles of rational economic choice to public-sector activities and by taking long-term trends into stricter account ...
>
> "For their part, following approval of the Plan and bearing national guidelines in mind, the regional authorities will each prepare a

> regional development and infrastructure programme describing regional development strategy and associated equipment projects. This will enable major projects devised within each region to be co-ordinated, particularly those for the modernization and equipment of cities of more than 50,000 population.
>
> "In preparing the Sixth Plan it will thus be realized how vast the sum of concerted efforts and thought has been, at all levels throughout the country, in devising the reforms on which much of France's economic and social development depends."

A. Institutions

While the planning machinery need not be described in detail, it should be mentioned that it is run by a skeleton organisation, the General Planning Commissariat, which is removed from traditional government departments and attached, as circumstances may require, to the Prime Minister or to a Minister of State. It heads the commissions and technical bodies responsible for carrying out the surveys and forecasts needed for planning purposes.

Each commission is composed of representatives from the socio-economic groups concerned by the commission's particular field. The Education Commission of the Sixth Plan thus consisted of Government representatives (38), student representatives (4), parent representatives (5), business representatives (7) and trade-union representatives (16) as well as 22 private citizens. This commission, where Government representatives were a minority, was assisted by several sub-commissions composed, owing to the technical work they had to do, in major part of staff from the Ministry of Education.

The Education Commission, like the other commissions, organised its work in two stages. The first ended with the production of a "Report on Major Options" which was submitted to Parliament and approved in July 1970. During a second stage the options were finalized and measures to implement them were studied and submitted to the Government and then to Parliament in July 1971.

Such institutions operating at national level have regional counterparts. The Commissions for Regional Economic Development, attached to the Regional Prefects, play a role which is defined by the Government as follows:

> "In the search for consistency, the positions taken by the State with regard to regional programming should however be defined with greater clarity than for the Fifth Plan. The main indications provided by the national to the regional authorities and by the regional to the national authorities will be of a forecasting kind. Commitments will however be undertaken by the State in regard to certain programmes which, under the national plan, will be declared to be of priority rank and will be regionally allocated.
>
> "Under these conditions, regional projects shall be so designed as to enable, following approval of the plan proper, a regional programme and programmes for local authorities (mainly modernization and equipment programmes for urban communities) to be drawn up. These shall be as specific as possible but of a forward-looking, adaptable nature as well as consistent with the regional programme; they shall be prepared under the responsibility of the regional and local authorities for their own programming and management needs. Apart from communications of a purely informational nature requested by the Planning Commissariat, at

> national level, cognizance of these documents will be limited to financial syntheses of a forecasting nature and those parts of programmes, nationally declared to be of priority rank, which call for regional implementation.
>
> "This being the perspective, the national level and regional level (and regional bodies and the local authorities) will continuously concert their action before the vote of the Plan. During a first stage the aim of this concerted action will be to provide the modernization commissions with as much original information as possible on development policies to be conducted in the regions, on infrastructural needs and on priorities determined at regional level. During a second stage, action shall be concerted to ensure that regional programming is consistent with the draft national plan prepared by the Commissariat, programming responsibilities being clearly apportioned between the national level and regional level."

Like the national commission, such regional commissions are composed of representatives from the various social groups. Apart from the work of these bodies, however, relations between the regions and the State are patterned according to specific procedures which clearly reflect the French centralizing tradition.

As shown by the above-mentioned official text, regional work is used before the Plan is voted as a source of information, and afterwards serves as a basis for allocating the funds appropriated for the region among various projects.

The institutions thus briefly described indicate that participation by representatives of socio-economic groups in planning tasks is indeed intended, and this is as true for education as for other fields. But before the real extent of participation is discussed, it must be pointed out that planning can be criticized as still having an economic bias. Certainly the quality of work undertaken to achieve a generally balanced economy or the work on sectoral economies is far superior to that of social analysis. Paradoxically it is in the area least influenced by the State, (1) that of economics, that planning proves most effective. Planning is what a former Planning Commissioner has called a "reducer of uncertainty". In the social sphere, on the other hand, where the State takes most of the initiative, the planning machinery appears to conflict with the policies and practices of government departments jealously bent on safeguarding their independence. Repeatedly in this report, therefore, comments in regard to "participative planning" will refer to overall aspects of the Plan rather than to education alone.

B. Operation of Institutions

From a participation standpoint, planning institutions, which are explicitly provided with facilities for concerting action, can be analysed at two levels. The first is the policy-making level, which has to do with the inherent nature of planning, especially educational planning, and with those who engage in concerted action. The second level deals with the practical conditions under which planning is undertaken and performance is controlled.

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1. Although its means for taking action or providing incentives are considerable.

1. The Policy-Making Level

It has already been said that in France planning is only indicative. This is also true in areas where the State has decisive responsibilities. What actually happens is that the Government submits a text to Parliament listing the general objectives adopted and describing the programmes designed to implement priority actions. While the commissions' reports provide Parliament members with information, they do not commit the Government in any way. From among the proposals it receives, the Government adopts those which it considers appropriate and shows what the financial implications will be. The combination serves as a frame for organising the activities of ministries or Parliament. The latter is thus called upon to pass laws which will enable some of the Plan's objectives to be achieved. Yet the framework places no constraint either on the State, which for various reasons may not want to release funds appropriated (which are calculated over a five-year period, whereas, particularly for educational purposes, the State makes only yearly commitments corresponding to the budget), or on governmental departments, which may reconsider objectives or programmes of action.

Planning exercises may be said to show the next five years in a general light, and may also be said to be based on a concerted approach which, since it does not result in any action programme, is assessed differently by the social groups involved. Thus the report by the Education Commission was not adopted by trade-union representatives, and some even withdrew from the proceedings.

Setting aside the reserved attitude of some people towards objectives adopted and the funds allocated, the system of concerted action is, itself, ambiguous. On the one hand, planning rests with commissions where the representatives of various social and economic groups can make their voices heard while, on the other, an elected Parliament has the decision-making power. That the two types of representatives should hold identical views is a matter of doubt. As the parliamentary power normally takes precedence, the entire system of concerted action breaks down. This need not be so if it is regarded as an information system, but in that case those involved must accept this change in their function.

The rift between those who share in preparing the Plan without deciding and those who decide without preparing is apt to conceal another more serious gap. Concerted action is based on the participation of various groups, associations and unions which are all intermediate bodies. Relations with the base, i.e. students, parents, teachers, etc., are often those of administrative organisations. These institutions work in such a way that representation of these groups involves power relationships which are evaluated at national level and hence in a political context where ideological content weighs far more heavily for organisations than for individuals. Hence, formal institutional participation, whose defects have been seen, is hardly in step with the sort of concrete action that could be contemplated and planned at local level.

In the particular case of French education, and especially primary and secondary education which are by far the most costly and which shape most decisively future events, hardly any decision can be taken independently at local level. Whether the official be a teacher, school principal, Prefect or Rector, his power to initiate is extremely small. Even in a ministry, local echelons cannot be said to share in the formulation of concerted policy.

2. Practical Planning Conditions

It has been seen that any real participation is difficult enough to introduce when it is a matter of bringing the staff of organisations with no decision-making powers together, but it is even harder if the information available is insufficient or of questionable value. It is not believed that any information is kept from the planning commissions by government departments, but a fact readily apparent is the general inadequacy of the information system, while all the research facilities are concentrated in the hands of government departments.

Information is inadequate from a quantitative standpoint (numbers of pupils, training costs, analysis of the resources used, etc.) and also from the standpoint of quality. Teaching, which is the natural medium of educational action, is all too often regarded as an art whose product cannot be objectively assessed. On this account all national educational activities are thought to elude any normal rationalization process and any serious analysis regarding their efficiency. This lack of objectivity, which is often deliberate when educational results are measured, hampers the use of models in order to forecast quantitative trends. How indeed can the numbers to be taught in some particular type of education be estimated when the effects of teaching reforms on the pupil's choice of stream are totally unknown?

This lack of information has much to do with the problem of participation. In the absence of any yardstick and objective data, concerted action merely takes the form of emotional speeches in which personal experience substitutes for rational thought. In this sort of spurious dialogue the outcome is bound to be certain - tradition is maintained and policy tailored to existing resources.

An information system, recognizably, is never entirely neutral and its objectivity can always be criticized. It would nevertheless be possible to advance towards the adoption of an organisation which affords a common ground for discussion, although it would be necessary for the study means not to be concentrated in the hands of the administration.

Here again it is only fair to acknowledge that no request by the Education Commission for a special study has ever been turned down by the government. But the effectiveness of some permanent study facility clearly lies in both the questions it raises and those it answers. In this way it can infinitely strengthen the capacity for discussion of the organisation which has the facility. Participation which is jointly attempted by powerful administrative bodies and weak, resourceless organisations leads to bitter, sterile conflict and destroys the very idea of what participation might become.

III. MACHINERY FOR PARTICIPATION INTRODUCED INTO NATIONAL EDUCATION ESTABLISHMENTS

As a result of the events in 1968, participation was introduced into higher education establishments under the Act of 12th November 1968 together with relevant implementing measures. In addition, all public secondary establishments were provided with a board of management ("conseil d'administration") under regulations issued about the same time. All things in France must invariably begin with official texts: those examined here propose broad scope for action by all groups with educational concerns - whether teachers, students and pupils, parents or representatives of the business world. Legal capacity, however, also calls for a determined spirit of co-operation and even contestation within institutions which, however open to criticism they may be, are still the ideal base for jointly formulating educational policy.

It is indeed paradoxical that although the birth of every deed must first be certified by a legal text, this should at once give rise to hot, fruitless debate and drain all the energies of the people concerned, leaving them little strength for practising real participation. While of undoubted advantage for the community, participation in fact breaks with tradition in calling for individual self-discipline and civic spirit. The psycho-sociological context of the educational dialogue is important, for much of the disillusioned criticism aimed at these institutions might be more fittingly directed at the way in which their members behave.

A. Higher Education Establishments

1. Institutions

Two leading principles are contained in the Act of 1968. One makes the universities autonomous, while the other entrusts administration of the establishments to elected boards representing members of the university community as a whole. Both principles are linked in that the second acquires its significance from the first, while without the second, application of the first would result in measures of deconcentration rather than decentralization.

Participation is introduced through the medium of a board elected according to the following rules. There are six electoral colleges: professors and senior lecturers, assistant lecturers, research staff, students, and administrative, technical and service staff. During a first stage each college elects representatives to the boards of the education and research units (UER's), which are the university nuclei, then to the university board in such proportion that senior and assistant lecturers at least balance the student membership. The other categories, depending on the subjects being dealt with, side with one of the parties or the other in the event of conflict between them. Each university board also includes non-university members who make up from one sixth to one third of the board. The board elects a chairman from among its members for five years.

These university boards have important functions:

- they determine their statutes and administrative rules of operation;
- they determine their teaching activities, teaching methods and knowledge-testing procedures, except as national diplomas are affected, which remains the Minister's prerogative;(1)
- they organise student guidance;
- they organise continuing education;
- they sign educational or research agreements with various public or private organisations and with the State;
- they vote the budget and allocate the funds among the different units.

At each regional level a board has also been set up in which university representatives similarly participate. The proportion of members from outside the university must be equivalent to one third. The Act provides that the regional boards shall "contribute in their jurisdiction towards

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1. Research policy comes under a science board composed only of teachers, research staff and non-university members.

the forecasting, co-ordination and programming of higher education ... They shall arrange for all liaison and co-ordination with the bodies responsible for regional development."

Finally, at national level a National Higher Education and Research Board has been set up with a membership structure similar to that of the regional boards. It is mainly concerned with planning higher education and research in the medium and long term and allocating funds to the various university establishments.

2. Operation

Over and above the sort of carping criticism easily levelled at any democratic system to which everyone belongs and which must therefore reflect the shortcomings of its detractors, a distinction must be made between the capacities of the structure as set up and the way it actually operates.

Its potentialities are huge on paper but, while still real, less great when it comes to action. The reason for setting up all the institutions was to promote a tiered form of planning - at establishment, regional and central levels. The distrust traditionally, yet often unfairly, shown by the university towards the business world still restricts participation from outside, but thanks to the legal framework, and with the passage of time, this hostile attitude may be expected gradually to disappear. For action purposes dependence on the central authority considerably limits autonomy and makes participation less effective. Almost all the university budget is allocated by the central authority according to criteria which, even if consistent with national planning, seem somewhat arbitrary to the locally elected officials. Certainly if this situation is allowed to continue, many will regard autonomy and participation as an illusion. Yet both these principles should be evaluated dynamically rather than statically, in that they set the stage for local authorities whose importance will be determined by their own drive, quality of planning and capacity for management. Assuming that freedom and responsibility are not granted but earned, all the factors are present for orderly change. The trend may, however, be ultimately irreversible and the results obtained disappointing if strategy is planned only in the medium term.

The dual objective of autonomy and participation is hindered in the ordinary scheme of things by two de facto situations which, since they occur at different levels, limit its implementation.

By tradition, French universities do not normally favour participation. Since time immemorial the student/teacher relationship has been one where all the authority was vested in staff of professor rank. This system worked well so long as the university enrolment was limited and staff were few enough to ensure outstanding teacher quality. But as staff quality admittedly deteriorated, as the role of an unchanging university in an evolving society became more ambiguous, as the student population considerably increased and new strata were added, the status of professors gradually came to be challenged. While it is not the purpose here to analyse the reasons for the change, the reaction of teaching staff in seeing intergroup relationships in the universities so upset was to set up non-participative decision-making bodies. From 1969, the presidents of universities thus began meeting informally and succeeded, by a decree of February 1971, in instituting a "Presidents' Conference", chaired by the Minister, which makes use of government premises and service facilities, and whose functions entirely overlap with those of the National Higher Education and Research Board. The arguments for setting up the Conference seem to have been fallacious, since an assembly of some 80 university presidents who all compete for funds with no participation from outside has little chance of proving more effective than a National Board of 90 members recruited from various walks of life. Here again tradition has reigned.

The fact is that these practices, while easily explainable, threaten to turn against their promoters. The Act of 1968 defined new relationships which were to prevail between the central authority and the universities. To translate these less dependent relations into fact it was necessary to rely on mechanisms of participation which would introduce freedom of discussion into the universities by altering the composition of the deliberative assemblies. But in a system where the universities are almost entirely financed by the State authority, a decentralization policy calls for a great deal of imagination before new forms of dialogue can be created. The Presidents' Conference is nothing more than a gathering of faculty deans of the old school, an audience which the central authority has long been familiar with. In thus voiding the National Board of all significance, the danger is that the Ministry's absolute authority over establishments will be restored. The risk has been taken of making participation useless, of discrediting it in everyone's eyes and of thus deliberately paving the way towards another crisis. In the quasi-charismatic world of education, where the practice of democracy is more difficult, time-consuming and exacting, democracy can all the more easily slide into oligarchy.

B. Public Secondary Education Establishments

1. Institutions

While the legislators were organising concerted action in higher education, the government was taking steps to introduce similar machinery into secondary education, subject to any necessary adjustments.

The legal status of most secondary education establishments is that of a public institution ("établissement public") with a separate legal and financial personality. Since November 1968 boards of management have been introduced, with five types of representatives:

- representatives designated by the government;
- representatives elected by teaching, administrative, supervisory and service staff;
- representatives elected by parents;
- representatives elected by pupils;
- persons from outside concerned with the establishment's activities.

Their number depends on the size of the institution. It should be mentioned however that the designated members represent essentially local political and municipal authorities. Moreover, if the establishment is a technical school, labour unions and trade associations are represented.

Since secondary education establishments are so widely scattered over the country and so close to community life, local authorities have much more readily been able to share in the schools' activities than in those of the universities. Contacts with the outside are all the more justified as most school facilities are the property of the local authorities.

The boards of management have extensive powers to:

- formulate pupil recruitment policy in line with the general regulations in force;
- draw up internal regulations;

- improve the establishment's operation from a material standpoint;
- set up, control and assist socio-educational associations;
- vote the budget;
- provide advice and recommendations on all problems concerning educational organisation and life in the establishment;
- advise on the legal aspects of establishment activities.

Completing such arrangements are a standing committee, which may be regarded as a sort of "secular arm" of the board of management, and a disciplinary board, which is a special panel of the standing committee attended by psychologists and welfare specialists in an advisory capacity and by teacher and pupil delegates from the class to which the pupil concerned belongs. Finally, for each class another board has been instituted according to the same participation scheme. This board investigates educational matters bearing on class activities and the pupil's school record.

The extremely broad authority enjoyed by these various boards in which participation has been organised does not, however, cover the entire educational spectrum. Curriculum content, knowledge testing and teaching methods are thus not controlled by them. Very reasonably, the public authorities have debarred the boards from such deliberations in order to ensure that the educational system applies to all alike and prevents any rash experimentation from being conducted unchecked with children whose critical faculties still require the sharpening of age. They do, however, deal with all matters coming under what the French know as "school life", i.e. activities which account for a substantial part of the pupil's existence and can often shape his entire attitude towards the educational system.

2. Operation

It is difficult to pass judgment on the operation of this participative system. There are so many establishments in which both extremes of good and bad are found. The key to successful operation essentially lies with the school's head, who has an ambiguous role: that of heading an educational team and being responsible for administrative matters. Some have succeeded in making their school into a forum where participation has enabled teaching objectives to be jointly defined, while others have allowed the situation to deteriorate to such a degree that the teachers are left to fend for themselves and the pupils receive an education from which they feel increasingly alienated.

The future fate of educational systems is likely to be decided in the secondary schools rather than in the universities for several reasons. First, the pupils are younger, more enthusiastic, more rebellious, and more receptive to the elementary workings of democracy than their elders. Secondly, secondary education establishments are closer to the surrounding community than the universities. The "collèges" and "lycées" are part of the infrastructure of often small communities where the social life of the group may take on concrete significance. When an outward-looking attitude is spoken of it is here that the problem can most easily be solved: in primary education the children are too young, while in France the universities are organised on a national rather than a local scale and the participants are too politically oriented.

Hence, many types of concrete action might be proposed which, once the leadership had been renewed, would consist in bringing strong pressure to bear on the management boards so that the conditions of school life would be changed. Such an effort would be all the more feasible and logical as local authorities would then look upon the school as a community asset capable of many other functions besides education. Another factor which would further action is a continuing-education policy, since many establishments could be used as the foundation.

The Minister of Education recently asked a special commission to investigate the status of teaching staff and submit proposals for reform. One recommendation was that secondary establishments be granted broadly autonomous educational powers. While no such measure went so far as to allow school principals to select the curricula, which would have been absurd, it did leave room for many adjustments enabling pupils, teachers and parents to join in the selection of objectives. In preparing the five-year plans, therefore, the boards of management could thus be requested to define objectives which, however limited they might be thought by macro-economists, would utterly change the climate in the establishments and enable a policy of renovation to be launched with some chance of success.

IV. THE DIFFICULTIES OF PARTICIPATIVE PLANNING IN EDUCATION

While the difficulties arising out of the centralized political and administrative system in France should not be minimized, it may serve a more useful purpose to examine the general constraints imposed on an educational decision-making process in which all groups participate.

A. The Ambiguous Social Role of Educational Systems

In certain countries, including France, education is regarded as an inalienable right, and the policy more or less successfully followed during the past 25 years has been to reduce educational inequalities of all kinds. Hence, recourse to the principle of selection for regulating the educational system is now impossible except in a very few instances (the "grandes écoles" and medical schools), and this is only tolerated because rival institutions exist which do not practise selection. The result is that at "participative planning" level, the idea of limiting resources allocated to the educational system is ill accepted. Experience clearly shows that in the eyes of most people concerned with the educational process the leading problem is the low scale of financing. While this naive approach or unawareness of economic problems is general in regard to all forms of planning, communication becomes particularly difficult in education owing to its ideological importance.

If an attempt is now made to determine the sort of relationship which should exist between an educational system and a rapidly evolving society, it must be pointed out that in some ways education is a system for reproducing values rather than for learning how to discover new values. Education also prepares youth for a society which in ten or fifteen years will be based on new standards. This is a paradox which is difficult to resolve and which threatens to be a greater obstacle still under a system of widespread participation by individuals who may be little inclined or little able to envision a future world other than they now know. In particular, those who show the most heated opposition to reforms are often parents. Are the latter thus prepared to accept the change in family relationships which an altered educational system is likely to cause?

From a more general standpoint, is any society prepared to visualize for its children a life other than the society itself has known? Planning the development of an educational system may often call for a fundamental reappraisal of its own system of values. Can one be sure that the participation process is capable of smoothly introducing such changes? This seems unlikely, and objective mechanisms for imposing change will doubtless have to be found. One device might be the exercise of authority, provided it is enlightened. Another might be to make school facilities serve broader goals, and a third consists of less rigidly national education systems.

B. The Fate of "Planning" and the Fate of Teaching Staff

Two opposite attitudes towards teaching staff may be observed. One is to invest the "teacher" with mysterious magisterial powers and unique authority. The other is to regard him as providing a service much like anyone else. The first attitude led to the well-remembered events of 1968 and the second to impoverishment of the teaching body, which is no longer respected by parents and therefore has no reason to be by the children.

While this problem cannot be answered in a few lines, a solution based on the following main considerations can be outlined:

i) the teaching function can be exercised only within the framework of a team who should serve as the teacher's psychological and methodological assistants, help in developing his knowledge of the pupil and participate in collective tasks;

ii) the material conditions of teaching staff should be improved and differences of remuneration between the various categories should be reduced. It is no easier to teach all subjects to a class of 30 eight-year olds than it is to teach science to a class of 30 fifteen-year olds. At the same time, the weekly schedule of teachers should be revised so that they can share in the school's activities along with other staff, even if they devote an appreciably shorter time to teaching duties;

iii) the social status of the teacher, revised from a material standpoint so as to bring it up to that of senior staff, should be appraised in terms of the tasks he carries out. The popularity of psychoanalysts and psychiatrists in certain countries need only be noted as evidence of the increasing inability of people to communicate with each other. Yet what else is a teacher but someone who shows young people how to communicate, first, among themselves, then with society, and finally with knowledge. The patronizing attitude adopted towards the teaching profession is due to utter blindness on the part of people who are unable to communicate with their peers and even with their own children.

These considerations are important if participation is to be meaningful. To plan education means that the children must first be guided. While at national level pupils may be looked upon as mere theoretical abstractions, at establishment level they may take on dramatic dimensions. And the fact is that the entire system rests on the teachers. If the teacher is poorly integrated into the community, is not acknowledged to play a specific role which is to serve as the springboard for the pupil's own aspirations, then he can but shut himself up in his own separate world, his quality will deteriorate and participation lose all shred of significance.

C. The Teaching Function Analysed in Productive Terms

Regardless of how important and sensitive a task teaching may be, it is of such consistency that it can be analysed like any other productive activity. The reluctance, at least by some countries, to objectify teaching results has already been noted. Yet there are examples which show that measurable educational objectives can be defined, and to take this step is essential. In order that real participation can be introduced, the layman must know what the teaching function is all about. No mysterious, incomprehensible event can ever be shared in; it must simply be endured.

An added advantage of such clarification would be that thought could then be given to the internal machinery required for education. Must a teacher always be physically present? Or could not combinations of teaching methods adjusted to the pupil, jointly decided upon as well as tested and evaluated in common, be worked out? To achieve participation, alternative choices must be available, and if these consist merely in requesting additional quantitative resources, planning need hardly be democratic.

While such a change of attitude, which would promote extra "degrees of planning freedom", will be slow, it can be accelerated by a realistic policy of collective experimentation. It must not be thought that educational experiments can be undertaken without any real commitment on the part of teachers, pupils and parents alike. Unless this sort of participation exists, few social experiments can ever be successful.

It may cause some surprise, in reaching the end of this paper, that so little has been said about the forecasting aspects of the planning process. Although this should not be taken to mean that the technique is scorned, the fact is that a plan is only too apt to receive the seal of approval if accompanied by a large number of forecasting studies, whereas these are but a natural outcome of normal administrative operation.

Owing to a variety of reasons which it is hoped have been explained, quantitative phenomena have resulted from qualitative phenomena whose mechanics and hence whose capacity for change are unknown. The necessary, yet uncertain and difficult, mastery over change means that many methods of action must be brought into play. The generalized democratic approach which "participative planning" involves is not a goal sufficient unto itself, since sometimes stagnation may result and the political decision-making process under our elective systems may, in fact, be countered. On the other hand, it can "unfreeze" rigid or unadapted organisations if a specific strategy is used in the search for goals and methods.

II

PARTICIPATION BY INDUSTRY IN EDUCATION

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

The French educational system over the last 13 years has undergone many changes. In 1959, the compulsory schooling period was extended from 14 to 16 years of age. That same year saw the introduction of a general reform of education. Six years later the University Institutes of Technology were created. In November 1968, profound changes were legislated in university studies; a direct consequence of the events of the spring of that year. A co-ordinated and concerted policy of vocational training was prepared between 1966 and 1971, and finally there was the establishment of continuing training at the end of this period.

At the same time, important quantitative changes took place, which were both the cause and the consequence of these transformations and were reflected in a considerable increase in the number of students in secondary and higher education. Rapid economic growth created a constant new demand for higher and more diversified qualifications.

All these changes make it particularly interesting to examine the conditions in which the practice of participation has developed in various fields. In this paper it is proposed to look at participatory practices, in particular, in the elaboration of new structures, the operation of institutions, the determination of the content of education, and the dissemination of such education.

II. INDUSTRY PARTICIPATION IN TECHNICAL EDUCATION

During the period prior to 1959, participation by industry in education was confined strictly to technical education; apart from industry's specific responsibilities in apprenticeships, such participation was located in principle at national, departmental and local levels.

Participation at departmental level, in fact, scarcely existed. The many tasks originally assigned to the departmental committees for technical education had been gradually abandoned and their only remaining responsibility was to review the conditions in which firms complied with their apprenticeship tax obligations, either in the form of direct expenditure or subsidies. On the other hand, the national industry advisory commissions, each corresponding to a particular sector (metals, chemicals, building, etc.), were bodies which actively participated in the elaboration of new types of instruction and new curricula in the light of the development of new occupations; in the continual questionning and adjustment of old curricula; and in the general organisation of the examinations concluding the different types of courses. At local level, too, participation was generally effective; even beyond the statutory provisions, the links gradually established between industry and technical teachers led in many instances to adjustments or developments which the central administration was eventually obliged to endorse.

Thus participation by industry in education existed before 1959, but its field of activity was strictly limited to technical education and was concerned almost exclusively with the determination of its content. In all other fields of education, industry as such had neither the right of observation nor the possibility of intervention.

III. THE 1959 GENERAL EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

In January 1959, the decision was taken to raise the compulsory school-leaving age from 14 to 16, and the general reform of education was promulgated.

Industry was not asked to participate in the preparation of these two policy decisions despite their incidence on technical education which heretofore had operated in a context of relative participation. This was all the more regrettable as one of the aims of the reform was to abolish the specific structure of technical education and to integrate it into the structures of secondary education.

The immediate result was the de facto suppression of the participatory bodies constituted by the national industry advisory commissions. They were not actually abolished, but as the decisions on technical education were taken elsewhere, their importance dwindled in most cases, and as industry felt that its voice could no longer be heard through these channels, it took no further interest in their operation.

At the same time, since no official provision was made for a participatory body, a period began during which organised participation was replaced by a system of more or less informal intervention and personal contacts. Although regrettable for technical education - since it represented a decline in institutional participation - this state of affairs enabled industry, through various channels, to indicate its attitude towards other types or cycles of education at a time when all of them were being more or less called into question by the reform.

From 1963 onwards, persons outside the teaching body were given important assignments in the Ministry of Education: they very soon indicated their resolve to give at least a semi-institutional form to the disorganised informal participation which had grown out of the confusion created by the reform.

Side by side with the national industry advisory commissions, which were retained but mostly excluded from the normal consultation channels, working parties with no legal existence were set up and instructed to define and elaborate curricula for the new types of technical education.

IV. PARTICIPATION BY INDUSTRY IN THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSITY INSTITUTES OF TECHNOLOGY

Above all - and this was a particularly interesting venture - the decision was taken to create a new cycle of higher education to train persons for intermediate occupations, between technicians, on the one hand, and engineers and managerial staff on the other.

The conditions in which this decision was put into practice provided a remarkable example of real and effective participation. Industry had the opportunity of expressing its opinion and stating its views on all matters relating to the preparation of new structures, the methods of operation of the institutions to be created, the determination of the content of the new courses and the conditions in which they would be taught.

Initially, a commission chaired by a representative of industry and consisting of representatives of the administration, teachers in higher and technical education and qualified practitioners was made responsible for determining the general framework for this new type of education: recruitment on certificates at baccalauréat level; two years of vocationally-oriented studies; preparation for functions and not for a specific occupation; and rejection of narrow specialization.

After this first stage, provisional education commissions composed on the same patterns were given the task of working out curricula according to occupational category (chemical engineering, business administration, etc.), of determining the pedagogical organisation of the future educational establishments and of fixing the composition of the teaching body.

The conditions in which these commissions operated are worth describing in detail as they give an example of a process of participation.

i) The general objective set for these commissions was clearly determined, as was the margin of freedom they were allowed. This is apparently one of the essential conditions of participation; without clear objectives, the latter may well degenerate into a mere exchange of views or confrontation of ideas.
ii) The discussion which participation involves can be useful only if the persons concerned have adequate information. This prerequisite was fully met in the case of the provisional education commissions responsible for setting up the University Institutes of Technology;(1) the Ministry of Education Authorities provided their members with all the requisite information, and they had full discretion to carry out all the enquiries which they felt would be useful.
iii) Finally, the Education authorities worked on the understanding that men who had too often and too long been traditionally opposed could only gradually be won over to participation since time was needed to overcome prejudices and foster the climate of confidence necessary for constructive work together.

Compliance with these three conditions, clarity of objectives, quality of information and acceptance of the necessary time-lag, enabled these commissions to do exemplary participatory work, so that even today all those who were involved in it feel personally concerned by any measure which might give the IUTs a different appearance from the one they had originally designed for them.

Furthermore, participation was not confined merely to drawing up curricula and laying down the structures of new establishments; a set of conditions were established by three decisions which would ensure the continuation of participation:

i) creation, at national level, of a commission to follow the operation of the IUTs and give its opinion on all plans to create a new IUT or curricula for new disciplines;
ii) representation by industry on the boards set up for every IUT;
iii) compulsory participation by industry in the teaching itself, one third of the teaching time-table being the responsibility of industrial personnel.

The last two of these decisions are still fortunately observed today; it is regrettable that the national commission was able to operate for

1. Instituts universitaires de technologie (IUT).

only about two years as its existence was jeopardized by the general reform of higher education in 1968.

To conclude, during the discussions on the place and role of the University Institutes of Technology in the educational system as a whole, representatives of industry had the opportunity which had hitherto been denied them of expounding, or at least stating, their ideas on secondary education and traditional university education. This opened a new path for participation which may perhaps have some chance of being followed in future.

V. INDUSTRY PARTICIPATION IN OTHER FIELDS OF EDUCATION

Industry had always been associated by tradition and by necessity with the operation of technical education and has had the opportunity, since 1959 and the profound changes resulting from educational reform, of intervening to a greater or lesser extent in other fields of education. The events of the spring of 1968 accelerated this trend, both because they supported the concept of participation and because they led to a restructuring of school and university institutions, simultaneously with the introduction of the concept of continuing education.

In this perspective, we shall first briefly examine the new conditions of participation in university education and shall then analyse it fully with reference to the introduction of continuing training.

A. The Reform of University Education

After the events of the spring of 1968, the new Minister of Education, undertook a structural and operational reform of higher education institutions based on the principles of participation by teachers and students in the management of the institutions and administrative and teaching autonomy of these institutions.

Industry did not participate in the official preparation of the reform which led to the Orientation Law of November 1968; yet everyone knew that, despite the denunciation of the so-called consumer society and through it, the established economic system, the university explosion was largely due to students' anxiety about their future careers, for which university education prepared them inadequately or not at all. Those who prepared the reform felt the need therefore to make the university more open to its economic environment. This opening was in three directions:

i) admission of industry to the national council and regional councils of higher education and research;
ii) industrial participation in the councils of universities and Education and Research Units (UER) constituting universities;
iii) greater industrial participation in education, either at occasional intervals or as associate teachers.

Since then, these forms of institutional participation have been established and interesting work has already been done in certain university and UER councils. Positive experiments are, it must be admitted, still limited in number, but after all the important thing is not so much that industry can make its view heard in a university council as the fact that more and more academics are tending, quite apart from any institutional links, to obtain the opinion of industry on new orientations for their teaching.

To sum up, it may be claimed that the Orientation Law, after formalizing the trends emerging from the disorder of events, is in its turn giving rise to informal initiatives which will probably make new forms of institutional participation necessary in the future.

This prospect seems to be particularly certain when we consider the new field of activities offered by the introduction of continuing training as part of a co-ordinated and concerted policy.

B. Preparation and Introduction of Continuing Training as part of a Co-ordinated and Concerted Policy

A Law of 3rd December 1966, set out the general principles of a co-ordinated and concerted policy of vocational training and made provision for a number of institutions which were to ensure co-ordination and concentration.

Side by side with an Interministerial Committee for Vocational Training and Social Advancement and a standing group of senior officials responsible for preparing its discussions, a National Council for Vocational Training and Social Advancement was created in which management and trade unions were to be represented.

Corresponding institutions were set up under the regional Prefects. A Vocational Training Fund was established and industry was associated with its administration. One of its tasks was to determine the continuing training facilities offered by the private sector which were worthy of financial assistance from the Government. This assistance was provided under agreements between the State and private institutions carrying out training activities.

These measures as a whole, which reflected a real desire for participation, were such a change from old habits that the shock of the 1968 events was, in fact, necessary to promote their implementation on a significant scale. Only after October 1968 did such agreements become a definite policy, in particular under the influence of the Prime Minister's Advisor on Social Affairs. The State agreed to contribute towards the operation of private institutions whose aims coincided with the priority choices made by the Interministerial Committee on Training after consulting the social groups concerned (employers and workers, in particular).

At the same time, the contractual policy desired by French employers and certain trade union federations took on a new aspect. Employers began discussions with the trade unions on security of employment, and these talks resulted in an agreement whereby the social partners decided to open discussions during the second quarter of 1969 on the general problems of vocational training and further training.

In July 1970, a national joint agreement was signed dealing mainly with the organisation of continuing training, and some ten months later a special additional clause was signed on this point affecting engineers and managerial staff. Finally, as from October 1970, the Government established a participation procedure which led to the drafting of the Law on Continuing Training voted by Parliament in June 1971 (Law of 16th July 1971).

This brief historical summary of the conditions governing the preparation, in France, of all legislation on continuing training has no other aim than to describe the framework within which a dual process of participation developed between the social partners first, and then between them and the public authorities. It is this process which will now be examined in detail.

C. Participation between the Social Partners

The success of the discussions opened in the spring of 1969 between the employers and the trade unions is clear evidence of the importance of the conditions described earlier in this paper as necessary for true participation, namely, clarity of objectives, adequate information and the need to proceed gradually.

Initially, the social partners were to discuss general problems of vocational training and further training; thus phrased, this was an extremely vague objective which, if it had not been further clarified subsequently, would no doubt have led only to idle discussion and idealogical or philosophical clashes.

As there was consensus of opinion, however, that training should be regarded as an investment, it was established from the start that the object was not to discuss training in the abstract but essentially to envisage and then devise a system and measures to make training a means of development. The idea of development led immediately to a better definition of the problem, the central issue of the debate being clearly to find some means of reconciling, through training, the development of individuals according to their aspirations with the development of economy through the satisfaction of its need for staff with different qualifications. The clarity and precision of the objective in view thus satisfied one of the conditions for participation.

At the same time, the social partners realized from the beginning the extent of the problem which they had to solve and the need to accumulate as much information as possible: hence the proposal to set up a joint group of experts with the three-fold task of analysing the problem in its various aspects, collecting the necessary information and possibly considering various types of technical solutions which might be suggested to the social partners; they were in no way responsible for discussing the political aspects of possible solutions. This system enabled the negotiators to work out, on the basis of jointly collected and clearly formulated technical data, solutions that were compatible with the requirements of their respective organisations. It should not be concluded that the discussions were always easy; they were often difficult but always undertaken and pursued in a spirit of clarity, the *sine qua non* of real participation.

The result was the preparation of a general scheme of continuing training enabling firms' experience and rights to be reconciled with the necessary freedom of individuals to choose the ways and means of their personal development.

It took two years to reach this result. This should be no matter for surprise since it is very true that for participation to be real and effective it must be a long-term process; only time can erase certain prejudices and enable everyone to measure his arguments against reality.

Finally, the social partners were not content with preparing a system of continuing training but also set up a National Joint Committee to follow the application of their agreement. The work of "participation" should continue and expand in this Committee. Experience gained since its introduction has shown how difficult this is: the exigencies of circumstance and the administration of current affairs are in fact less motivating than the elaboration of new perspectives. Not for some years shall we know whether the employers and the trade unions have been capable of effectively following up their initial participation in a joint effort. If this proves to be the case, it will be an important step towards a new reality in social relationships.

D. Participation with the Public Authorities

The public authorities immediately recognized the importance of the new perspectives opened up by the employers-trade unions agreement and the need to extend their influence to categories of wage-earners not affected by it. Furthermore, since the social partners had not wished to go into the full implications of participation, particularly in the financial field, the public authorities felt obliged to design new statutory and legislative measures in order to give greater coherence to the whole system of continuing training and to place the public institutions in a position to play their proper part in it. A procedure of systematic consultation and collective preparation of texts was therefore established which led to the legislation adopted by Parliament in June 1971.

The texts of these laws and joint agreements constitute a sort of charter of continuing training in France. At all levels - national, regional and departmental - and in educational establishments and firms, bipartite or tripartite participatory bodies have been established and must now be effectively operated. This is not a simple problem, as experience has shown that participation is more easily achieved in the promotion and elaboration of new perspectives than in the administration of current affairs.

E. The Commissions of the Plan

In this description of the development in France of industrial participation in the reform and operation of the education system, no reference has so far been made to participation in the context of the Sixth Plan, especially in the Education Commission.

The French planning system is often regarded as an ingenious solution to the problem of achieving some coherence between the advantages of a market economy and the responsibilities of the State in the general orientation of that economy.

During the preparation of the Plans, there is an exhaustive dialogue in the various commissions between the social and economic groups concerned. The question is whether this dialogue does, or does not, lead to true participation. When we look at the preparations for the Sixth Plan (now in application), in the specific field of education, it is not possible to give any really positive answer to this question. Of course, all categories likely to be concerned were represented in the Education Commission, but they had little association with the preparation of the various possible orientations and the comments which each might make in plenary commission generally had little effect, the approval or polite refusal of the organisers in no case changing the course of events and the trends adopted. In practice, all the work was done in expert or technician groups.

It may be asked, in fact, whether the tasks assigned to the Education Commission made participation possible. For instance, there was no question of challenging school and university structures, discussing the content of the instruction given, or studying the probable effects of introducing continuing training. Participation is not encouraged by observing the defects of a system, bewailing the high repeater rate, deploring the bad conditions of pupil orientation, examining the ebb and flow of the demographic tide, noting the declining importance of the teaching function and, in the end, merely determining the increase in a budgetary envelope.

If there is to be a desire for participation, then those concerned must have the impression of being able to influence the real course of events; when, on the contrary, the predominating impression is the risk of being a prisoner of decisions and guidelines adopted elsewhere, the only possible course is to refuse to participate. It is to be hoped that the Education Commission for the Seventh Plan will be able to operate in conditions permitting more effective participation by industry.

Participation by industry was formerly confined to the field of technical education alone but has gradually extended to other branches of the educational system while, at the same time, its field of application broadened qualitatively: from the preparation of curricula to the introduction of new institutions and the admission of representatives of industry as teachers in these institutions. Such increased participation was particularly marked when the provisions concerning continuing training were being prepared.

If the participatory bodies set up in this connection operate correctly and if continuing training itself develops in accordance with the desires of those who devised it, the result in the long run will certainly be a radical questioning of a school and university system designed before continuing training was established. Industrial circles will then necessarily be called on to participate in the full elaboration of a new educational system. They are already preparing for this task.

III

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON CANADIAN EXPERIENCE IN EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

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I. INTRODUCTORY BACKGROUND

The object of this paper is essentially to identify some areas of Canadian experience which appear relevant in the context of emerging notions of participatory planning and decision-making. For purposes of a perspective in this regard, it is of some importance to note that:

i) Under the Canadian Constitution, public education lies exclusively in the jurisdiction of the Provinces. To speak of the educational system of Canada is therefore to speak of the systems developed independently in and by each of the ten provinces. Although the federal government has virtually no jurisdictional functions in education, it has for many years participated substantially, though indirectly, in support of certain sectors of education under various financial agreements with the provinces.

ii) Although provincial educational systems have their own distinctive characteristics, they have many common features, some attributable to historical development and others to the influences of inter-provincial liaison and co-operation of provincial ministers and departments of education.

iii) All provinces have, by legislative action, created systems of local governments, vesting in them authority and responsibility for administering educational services at the local level. The principle of strong local government, deeply rooted in the Canadian tradition, continues to manifest itself in a steady process of extension and realignment of powers allocated to local authorities.

iv) The small local unit of administration, typical of the period of settlement and until some thirty years ago, has been replaced by larger administrative units. The governing boards of these units administer the affairs of a number and variety of schools usually encompassing the whole range of services from kindergarten to secondary, and in some cases adult, education over a relatively large geographical area.

v) The earliest schools in pioneer settlements, frequently isolated from one another, were established by religious groups or by private individuals, with virtually no involvement of the state. These schools basically reflected the objectives of their sponsors and their interpretation of needs and conditions in the community environment in which they were located. As communities increased in population, various types of voluntary committees emerged to assist in the management and support of these schools.

vi) The evolution of a state (provincial) system of education took various forms in the several provinces but typically came about at a point in time when there was a fairly well defined demand for, and recognition of a need for, a more systematic approach to provision of educational services. Involvement and intervention by the state were characterized by legislation to provide a basic framework of the school system - including the machinery of local government by elected or appointed boards, provision for regulations governing various aspects of programme and school management and procedures for financing by local taxation and government grants.

Although the foregoing is an over-simplification of the processes of evolution of the provincial school systems, it may serve to reflect the background of the current situation of which the principal characteristics may be summarized as follows:

i) The tradition of community involvement and participation by local people in their schools, formally and informally, is as old as the schools themselves and no less persistent as a principle in the current situation.
ii) The increasing complexity and scope of educational services, accompanied by rapidly rising claims on the financial resources available from local and provincial sources, have magnified the difficulties of maintaining meaningful participation by the public in planning and decision-making.
iii) Because the educational enterprise exists in an environment of numerous pressures, many of which are competing, much of the planning which takes place tends to be adaptive rather than creative, influenced more by opinion than by research and development, and short-term rather than long-term.
The conceptual notion of participation as a strategy in planning is more in evidence at the provincial level than at the local level, probably because local governments have not yet developed methods for defining their aims and objectives, make limited use of evaluative techniques and instead tend to rely on their "closeness" to their constituents as the best means of assessing the needs and aspirations of their "public".

II. PLANNING - CURRENT STATUS

As implied earlier in this paper, the educational system, what it is and does, is essentially the product of planning and decision-making at two main levels of government - the provincial departments of education and the local education authorities (school boards) - and within the schools themselves. Because the federal government does not exercise jurisdictional powers in Canadian education, its participation and influence is confined to federal-provincial agreements and arrangements by which it provides funds to the provinces to advance programmes of mutual interest, e. g. , post-secondary education, adult training, bilingual education, youth travel, etc.

By and large, planning at the provincial level is focussed on continuing definition of over-all educational objectives, on basic legislation necessary for establishment and maintenance of provincial standards, on development of fiscal arrangements to permit local governments to maintain acceptable levels of educational services, and on research activities designed to improve existing services and to point the way to future changes in direction which education may take.

Planning and decision-making at the local government level embrace virtually all functions which relate to determinations of educational facilities, staffing, management of institutions, educational programmes, supervision and to systems for delivering educational services.

At the level of schools and institutions, the administrative and instructional staff have a large and increasing scope for planning both the courses to be offered and the teaching systems to be used, as well as the general management of the schools as such.

In essence, the provincial authority plans and decides as regards over-all objectives and the broad parameters of education, and provides funding ranging from 50 to 100% of the cost of the programmes administered at the local government level. The local authorities plan and administer services in the areas of their jurisdiction, within the broad requirements of provincial objectives, but in conformity with local needs and aspirations as interpreted by these authorities.

The several components of the educational system therefore reflect the influence of planning and decisions made at three basic levels: the provincial departments, the local school authorities and the professional staff of the schools. Planning at each level influences planning and decision-making at all levels, and to a significant extent in both directions from "bottom to top" as well as from "top to bottom".

III. MECHANISMS FOR PARTICIPATORY PLANNING

In the absence of a federal department or office of education, participation by federal authorities in decision-making affecting education has been, for many years, mainly in the context of negotiations between federal and provincial governments in the more general area of federal-provincial fiscal arrangements. Since 1967 the Council of Ministers of Education for Canada has developed mechanisms for:

i) inter-provincial activities involving consultation, studies, co-operation and planning in matters of mutual interest to the ministers of education,
ii) consultation and communication with federal departments in areas of their involvement in education.

The Council has effectively established itself as a major link between the two levels of government in matters of educational policy and planning and, without prejudice to provincial autonomy in education, in the communication of views of the Council to the federal authorities.

At the provincial level, the departments of education normally have built-in planning groups, and several have branches with special responsibilities for planning, research and development. These "in-house" functions do not necessarily exclude participation by others, and very frequently involve direct consultations with teacher and school trustee organisations and groups, the universities, parent-teacher organisations and ad hoc community groups. Another mechanism commonly applied when major policy changes are contemplated, or in the resolution of controversial issues, is that of "Advisory Committees to the Minister". Royal commissions are also occasionally used, but less commonly with the passage of time. Advisory committees, composed of a cross-section of interested groups and agencies, are usually given terms of reference such as to afford broad scope for examination of issues and requiring widespread consultations by way of public hearings, reception of briefs, etc. It is usual also that reports and recommendations of advisory committees and commissions are made public and widely disseminated for public discussion. It follows that the provincial authorities, while not bound by such reports and recommendations, do in fact have the benefits of the findings of such committees and indirectly or directly of the views of groups and individuals who contribute to investigations by these committees and commissions.

In all the provinces there are official organisations of school trustees, of the teaching profession, of parent-teacher groups, of trade and business organisations and of other special interest groups. It is a common and well established practice for officers of these organisations to meet at least annually with the provincial minister of education, and not infrequently with cabinet or cabinet committees, to present briefs concerning education. These submissions provide a further "input" of opinion on various educational issues, opinions which are generally interpreted to represent the position of the constituent members of these organisations and on whose behalf the briefs are presented.

At the local government level school trustees, commonly elected by the ratepayers, regard themselves as having been given a mandate to plan and administer educational services in the area of their jurisdiction. Theoretically, a school trustee represents or purports to represent the views of his constituents. This role or interpretation of trusteeship is an increasingly difficult one as school systems increase in size and complexity. By and large school boards rely on such mechanisms as the following for contact with their "public":

i) individual communications,
ii) submissions by delegations of parents or ratepayers,
iii) annual ratepayers' meetings.

The customary assumption is that through communications and contacts established by these mechanisms, the local trustees are kept informed and aware of the views and opinions of their constituents. The small number of "contacts" so obtained and the widespread lack of attendance at meetings, not to mention the apparent lack of interest in local meetings, has led many to question the extent to which individual ratepayers do in fact participate in planning at the local government level.

Within the schools themselves the principals or head teachers and their staffs have considerable scope for planning within their own groups, at least insofar as management of the instructional programme is concerned. Involvement of persons outside the school is in most systems confined to contacts:

i) with parents on an informal or planned basis,
ii) with parents in parent-teacher associations,
iii) with parents and others on school visiting days.

While such contacts permit parents and others to gain some knowledge of their schools, they are not generally regarded as contacts which materially influence the schools in their work, for they are not designed primarily for this purpose.

IV. ASSESSMENT OF CURRENT STATUS OF EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

Although there is substantial evidence that the public at large continues to have a large measure of its traditional faith and confidence in the educational system, there is evidence of growing uncertainties and tensions.

Students are increasingly concerned over the educational decisions made on their behalf and of the "relevancy" of current education. Some speak of involvement and "open decision-making" in the planning and management of their educational programmes and experiences.

In spite of existing mechanisms for consultation and communication, some parents feel isolated from their schools and unable to express themselves meaningfully in the decisions made on their behalf by administrators and elected officials at the level of local government. The complexity of administrative structures and operating systems tend to frustrate their desire to be heard.

Governments at the provincial and local levels, particularly the former, are increasingly aware of, and sensitive to, the seeming failure of existing mechanisms for consultation and planning to function effectively in the context of modern educational organisation.

The rapidly rising demands of education on the fiscal resources of provincial and local governments are producing areas of tension in the relationships of these two levels of government and in the general area of allocation of powers and decision-making. This dilemma becomes more acute as the level of financial support from provincial sources increases in the face of aspirations at the local government level for greater autonomy.

With the growth of power and prestige of the provincial organisations of teachers and trustees, each promoting its own claims to representation of the interests of education and the "public", there are clear indications of a power struggle in which parents and ratepayers generally are often left out, or appear to become bystanders. Put briefly, the school boards fear that as teachers are permitted greater freedom and control in the internal affairs of schools, their powers and authority will decline proportionately - that the teachers will "take over" the schools. Teachers, on the other hand, claim the "rights" of their profession to less intervention by local and provincial governments in what they perceive to be professional matters.

Provincial authorities, generally committed to the notions of strong local government and academic freedom, are faced with strong pressures of the competing claims of local governments and the educational profession on the one hand, and on the other, for stronger financial support in a rising cost market. Moreover, the provincial authorities are increasingly concerned over the "feedback" or lack of it from the grassroots. It is probably fair to say that provincial authorities are more acutely aware of the weakness of public participation in planning and decision-making processes than are the local authorities, for it remains a curious phenomenon among local authorities to hold to the view that they "represent" adequately the views of their constituents, that by reason of their election as "trustees" they are in a position to judge the moods of their ratepayers and to make decisions confident of their support. Many observers question this assumption and argue that local authorities tend in some ways to be more arbitrary than the provincial authorities, probably because the effect of seemingly arbitrary decisions at the local level are more immediate in their impact. Local authorities in their turn are concerned not only with fears of erosion of local board autonomy but with ways and means for increasing their scope of control.

V. INDICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Although conditions and relationships between provincial and local governments vary somewhat, some common trends are emerging. From a planning point of view, the provincial authorities are tending to focus their major thrust on:

i) Establishing acceptable standards of educational services and ensuring access to them by all citizens of a province, irrespective of location and local resources to support such services.

ii) Determining the over-all allocation of resources, provincial and local, which can be dedicated to education generally as a service to the public - in short, how much the provincial economy can afford to invest in education in relation to other demands and expectations of the public for social services.

iii) Designing and implementing programmes of financing, including provincial support, which will ensure that all local education authorities have the resources necessary to provide a minimum basic level of services at a cost which bears, as equitably as possible, on the taxpaying ability of all taxpayers.

iv) Enhancing, within the limits of total resources available to them, the powers and creativity of local authorities to plan and execute educational programmes best suited to the areas of their jurisdiction.

v) Developing governmental capabilities for research and forward planning in educational development.

vi) Designing mechanisms for communication and consultation at the grassroots level both for gathering opinion as regards future directions in education and for monitoring the ongoing processes of education.

Among indications of movement now in progress across the country, the following may be significant:

i) Several provincial governments have established at the cabinet level working groups under various titles but which might best be described as Research, Planning and Priorities units. The support staffs in such units work closely with government departments (including education) in the development of data on objectives, needs, alternatives in terms of programme thrust. The basic notion is that the province should have an over-all view of its objectives, needs and priorities, as well as of its potential capabilities in reaching desired objectives. While the focus at this level is quite broad and basic, this level of planning depends heavily on the capabilities of participating departments of government to identify their role in the scheme of things.

ii) Many departments of education have developed, or are in the process of doing so, research, planning and development units whose terms of reference require them to apply themselves to the total range of educational matters, insofar as provincial and local governments are concerned and in relation to involvement of various sectors of the public.

iii) Recent years have seen a considerable emphasis on ad hoc advisory committees being established by departments of education to study and recommend on a wide variety of educational issues. Such committees are normally composed mainly of non-government personnel but may use the services of government departments and other agencies such as the universities in research activity. They typically rely on public hearings and briefs for contact and communication, for information and opinion at the community level. Ordinarily their reports are made public and subjected to public discussion, although usually on a voluntary basis.

iv) Some local education authorities are considering the establishment of various forms of school councils to function as a continuing link between the parent or ratepayer group and the local school boards. In one province, the government has in fact legislated school councils into existence in all school districts.

v) A few departments of education are investigating the feasibility of a permanent structure for continuing study and dialogue, generally on the state of education in the province. Among the alternatives under consideration is one in which each school community or school system would have an association of citizens, or a council of representatives of community groups, which would meet regularly to consider educational questions both of a local nature and of wider interest in the province. These associations or councils would in turn form regional groups to meet periodically to consider regional issues or interests and to bring together the work of the local groups. In their turn, the regional groups would form a provincial body to function as a central focus for activities at the local and regional levels and to serve as the agency to consult with the provincial department of education.
The local groups would be expected to have direct liaison with local educational authorities - the local school boards and teaching staffs - for purposes of studies, consultation and planning at that level. In matters of more general concern, regional or provincial, the regional councils would serve to consolidate the output of local councils for further analysis and elaboration with a view to presentation to the provincial committee. In its turn the provincial committee, which would maintain a close working relationship with the department of education and provincial organisations of teachers, trustees, parents and other interested non-educator groups, would serve to inform and advise the minister of education and to act as a steering committee by feeding back to regional and local councils matters for consideration, materials for study and issues upon which grassroots opinion and information is needed or desired. In essence, it is conceived that the flow of information would be a two-way process serving at all levels as input to planning and decision-making, subject always to respect for the powers of local and provincial governments to make the ultimate decisions within their prerogatives under law, and for teachers to teach without needless interference in their professional practices.
Among subjects, issues and problems conceived to be the substance of activity among these groups are (1) instructional programmes of the schools in a community, (2) analysis and evaluation of aims and objectives of education (as stated at the local and provincial levels), (3) innovations in educational practices, (4) trends in educational administration, (5) financing of education, (6) study and evaluation of current reports and research activity in the field of education, etc.

VI. SOME FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS IN PARTICIPATORY PLANNING

While spokesmen of the various sectors of the educational enterprise extol the values of teamwork, of collaboration among departments of education, local governments, the teaching profession and the "community", and urge the importance of good communication, it would be less than realistic to assume that all conditions are favourable to full collaboration, or indeed that merely to invent new techniques for planning and decision-making will of themselves guarantee the desired results. No system will function without a large measure of commitment on the part of all participants in the processes.

Among impediments to such commitments are seen the following:

i) The tendency of power structures or centres of power to be self-protective, resistant to change and ambitious to enhance their own status. While departments of education have shown a tendency to transfer to local authorities and to the teaching staffs an increasing measure of decision-making power in the area of internal administration (curriculum and course offerings, school standards, supervision, school scheduling, teaching systems, employment of professional and special personnel, etc.), they have at the same time become more intimately involved in influencing the over-all level of expenditures by local governments. If departments of education do not ordinarily prescribe the manner in which local authorities allocate funds within their expenditure plans, they do indicate the over-all level of programme spending which will receive support under provincial grants formulas. Most local authorities hesitate to spend much beyond their approved budgets when the full impact of such increased expenditures is to be borne by the local taxpayers. School boards are generally critical of provincial guidelines in budgeting and regard them as evidence of erosion of local government authority, of loss of autonomy. This dilemma is very real and difficult to resolve, more especially at a time when the provincial contributions to local budgets continue to increase.

ii) The growing complexity of the educational system at the local level makes it difficult for educational agencies and the public alike to know where, when and how to meet and how to communicate meaningfully with each other. This may account for current experience at the local level where it is thus far characteristic to confine direct involvement of the public to issues of urgent or immediate concern to school boards or to matters of known widespread public interest and concern. The customary procedure is to establish ad hoc advisory committees or task forces of citizens and school officials for a specific purpose, with the initiative coming from the local school boards. Experience to date is scattered and insufficient to draw conclusions as to effectiveness in achievement of original objectives, but reports indicate some enthusiasm on the part of school authorities and the public participants and agreement that relations between the two are improved by this type of dialogue.

iii) There is also the question of the conceptual aspects of planning as an ongoing activity and of participation as a strategy - whether it is to be a response to the environment in which the school system exists and thus reactive or whether it is perceived to be evaluative, creative and selective in its thrust in a deliberate effort to find new directions. Departments of education generally speaking are tending to employ the latter approach, using various forms of continuing committees, advisory boards and assorted ad hoc groups. Local education authorities may tend more to be reactive, responding more to criticism of specific areas of the systems which they administer. This is probably attributable at this point in time to the commonly held view of school trustees that they are close enough to their "public", that they have a good grasp of local opinion and that as a result there is less need for direct formal consultation at their level than at the provincial level. Participation as a strategy for development of new directions is not yet a significant feature of local government. The more usual pattern is for boards to report their plans and await reactions if any. Some provincial departments are endeavouring to promote local creative initiatives by offering financial support for what are commonly referred to as "innovative projects". It is hoped by this incentive to induce not only a demonstration of local participation in planning but also first hand experience in the process of meaningful participation.

IV

PARTICIPATORY ASPECTS IN EDUCATIONAL PLANNING IN JAPAN

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I. INTRODUCTION

Participation in planning and in the decision-making process is a recent social trend. Both public and private sectors are making efforts to encourage people to participate in some aspect of the planning and decision-making processes, either directly or indirectly. One example of such efforts is the system, recently established by the governmental agencies, of requesting a number of people to submit regularly their opinions concerning governmental policy.

As part of this social trend, there is also a growing realization, at various levels from the government down to the people at large, of the importance of participatory educational planning as it is defined in Part One by the Secretariat. Recently, in the process of formulating and implementing the "Fundamental Policies and Measures for the Overall Expansion and Development of School Education" submitted to the Minister of Education by the Central Council for Education in June 1971, the Ministry of Education has been developing various mechanisms for enabling participatory educational planning.

This paper aims to describe the existing participatory mechanisms related to educational planning; the means which were made available to various groups of people for participation in the process of formulation and implementation of policy; newly created mechanisms within the Ministry of Education; the importance of research as a form of participation; and the importance of reorganisation of the administrative system.

II. THE BUILT-IN COMMUNICATION NETWORK OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

The Ministry of Education has various types of communication networks linking the institutions and the people. These include the local education authorities, research institutions, the general public and individuals with special expertise.

To the local education authorities, the Ministry offers necessary guidance, advice and assistance through such direct or indirect methods as the following:

- i) official notification to prefectural or municipal boards of education;
- ii) supervision of local boards of education or schools;
- iii) organisation of conferences and workshops on a nation-wide scale for principals, teacher-consultants and teachers;
- iv) publication of guides, manuals and handbooks for teachers.

Supervision is done by school supervisors, who are responsible for elementary and lower secondary education in general, and are assigned for service in specific regions and for designated school levels. There are also full-time subject specialists who conduct research on the standards of curriculum for a given school level and subject area and advise on the basis of their findings. In addition, the Ministry appoints prominent university professors as part-time special advisors, whose function is to give guidance and advice on special designated problems concerning elementary and secondary school education. Elementary and lower secondary school teachers are also advised by teacher-consultants of prefectural and municipal boards of education. All these guidance activities act as a channel through which information is communicated both to and from the individual teacher.

Alongside the local education authorities, there are also a Superintendent Council and its Sub-Council specializing in particular areas of education. Many special Sub-Councils are formed on an ad hoc basis. There are also meetings in which both central and local administrative officers working for the sections related to educational statistics and surveys participate. Such meetings are held both on nation-wide and regional bases.

The Ministry has under its auspices various research institutes such as the National Institute for Educational Research, the Institute of Statistics and Mathematics, the National Japanese Language Research Institute, and the National Institute for Special Education. The National Institute for Educational Research is the most important institute for educational policy-making as it acts as a co-ordinating agency for other national, local and private educational research institutes which together form the National Federation of Educational Research Institutes. (1)

To promote communication with the general public, there is a Press and Information Section in the Ministry. The function of this Section is not only to disseminate policies widely but also to hear public criticisms, opinions and requests as to the educational policies of the government. The same purpose is served by the "Education Monitor" system: the Ministry asks a number of people to submit written reports describing their opinion on an educational policy problem and also to make an oral report at monitors' meetings, held in seven regions of the country.

Education monitors serve for a period of two years. At present, there are 600 monitors within the country with a percentage occupational distribution as follows:

Professional, technological, administrative and clerical	19.0
Agricultural, forestry, fishing, manual, sales and services	26.0
Press	15.7
Teachers	15.7
Wives, students, etc.	23.6

As a built-in network communicating individual expertise, there are many advisory councils such as the Central Council for Education, Curriculum Council, Health and Physical Education Council, Central Vocational Education Council and Science Council. The Central Council for Education is the main body which deliberates on basic educational

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1. 175 in number.

policies. It comprises not only educationists but also university professors in other disciplines, school teachers, industrialists and other men of learning and experience. This body is therefore one of the important channels through which opinions of people from various circles can be reflected in the planning process. Since World War II, this Council has submitted 722 recommendations on various aspects of education. The latest one, submitted in 1971, is the most comprehensive in scope and elaborate in its analysed background data.

III. THE PROCESS OF EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AT THE CENTRAL LEVEL

A. Formulating Recommendations by the Central Council for Education

The Council was asked in July 1967 by the Minister of Education to consider the "Basic Guidelines for the Development of an Integrated Educational System Suited for Contemporary Society". Its Final Report was submitted in June 1971.

The four-year deliberations were conducted in three stages. First, educational developments since the Meiji Era were analyzed and evaluated with a view to identifying the various problems which have emerged. The results of the study were submitted as an Interim Report in June 1969 and served as a basis for identifying the central problems of present-day Japanese education. The problems were reviewed and reforms for solving them were elaborated in the second stage. Conclusions were submitted as Interim Reports in May and November 1970. The third stage considered the basic administrative and financial policies and measures which should be taken by the Government both to implement the reforms recommended and to facilitate the planned expansion and improvement of the overall education system. It also considered in broad perspective the role that education should play in future society.

During the four years, 159 meetings were held by seven ad hoc committees and 72 meetings by sub-committees. Five public hearings were held. Opinions of more than 70 interested organisations, councils, and governmental agencies were requested. In addition, opinion polls were conducted, and public hearings and general meetings were held during the period.

B. Implementing the Recommendations

Various circles, including academic societies, expressed opinions to the effect that the Government should make efforts to hear as wide a sample as possible of public opinion and arrive at a national consensus before implementing the recommendations.

The Minister of Education also expressed his opinion repeatedly that "a national consensus is necessary to implement the recommendations. In this age of diversification, it is impossible to expect all the people to agree to the recommendations. Efforts, however, should be made to get consensus from as many persons as possible. For this purpose, we will hear the voice of mothers in local areas and also the opinions of the Japan Teachers' Union and university people ... If it becomes clear that it is necessary to modify the recommendations, the Government should not avoid it."

In the process of such efforts, the Japan Teachers' Union, one of the largest teachers' unions in Japan, and the Japan Economic Research Association, an industrial research institute, made public their own reports on educational reform. The Ministry of Education held, during the latter half of 1971, a series of nation-wide and regional meetings to hear opinions of various interest groups as to how the recommendations of the Council should be implemented. Representatives of 43 organisations related to municipal governments, parent-teacher associations, national and local public and private schools and universities, women's associations, teachers' organisations and industrial circles participated in nation-wide meetings. In regional meetings, officials of prefectural governments and boards of education, representatives of municipal boards of education, principals' associations, study groups, parent-teacher associations and women's associations (1,060 persons in total) participated.

The Ministry also reorganised its internal structure, setting up many study groups and committees in which experts, research workers and university and school teachers are requested to participate. The creation of a Press and Information Section is evidence of the efforts towards more effective popular participatory planning in education; and the study groups and committees are expected to promote participation of outside expert personnel in the planning process.

IV. IMPORTANCE OF A FLEXIBLE RESEARCH ORGANISATION

The establishment and development of mechanisms for participation do not necessarily mean that the opinions of various groups can actually be incorporated into the plan. It is important that people have a sense of participation; however, in order for participation to be viable, people must be developed to a critical level in their capacity for self-management. (1)

However, what is directly expressed by the people in the planning process is only piece-meal and individual in its character. All opinions must be analyzed and evaluated to be reflected in the plan; hence the importance of research. An indirect participation of people through research, which means the direct participation of researchers in the process of planning, is very important.

To make this indirect participation effective, the research organisations should be flexible enough to launch any strategic research project with the most qualified person in the field at its head. This organisational problem relates to the methodological features of educational research in Japan: any systematic inquiry into any educational problem can be regarded as educational research. The scope of educational research is therefore very wide. There should, however, be priorities in the scope and methods of educational research. In general, educational research in Japan tends in its approach to be historical, short-term, "conclusion-oriented" rather than "decision-oriented", and small-scale. This situation may partly be explained by the lack of awareness of the real problems with which parents, teachers and administrators are faced, and partly by the lack of expertise and other resources. There should be consultations with different groups if the real research needs of a country are to be understood. Educational researchers should be better trained in the use of analytical tools.

1. Cf. Part One of this volume "The Participatory Planning Process for Education", by B. Hayward.

It is important to notice that the attitudes of any agency or individual in a position to utilize the results of educational research are positive toward them. The problem of educational research is not so much the lack of relevant research as the ignorance or neglect of its existence which is, in turn, due in large part to the insufficient links between education and R and D. There is a present-day tendency, however, to make efforts towards correcting this shortcoming. The recent creation of an Information Management Division within the Ministry of Education is one such attempt.

V. IMPORTANCE OF A FLEXIBLE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

Modern public administration was developed along with the establishment of the "absolute" modern age of today. The basic guiding principle of modern public administration in its early stage of development, however, was that of "police state". The public administration in a liberal legal stage, on the other hand, denied the positive state function and introduced the idea of nightwatch state. This idea has had to be modified in conjunction with the further development of the state. In any developmental stage, however, the ideal type of administration was based on the principle of legal appropriateness of the liberal state. The twentieth century ushered in the idea of public administration as a means to attain the aims and objectives provided by law. In the present-day service state, however, the administrative function should be much wider in its scope.

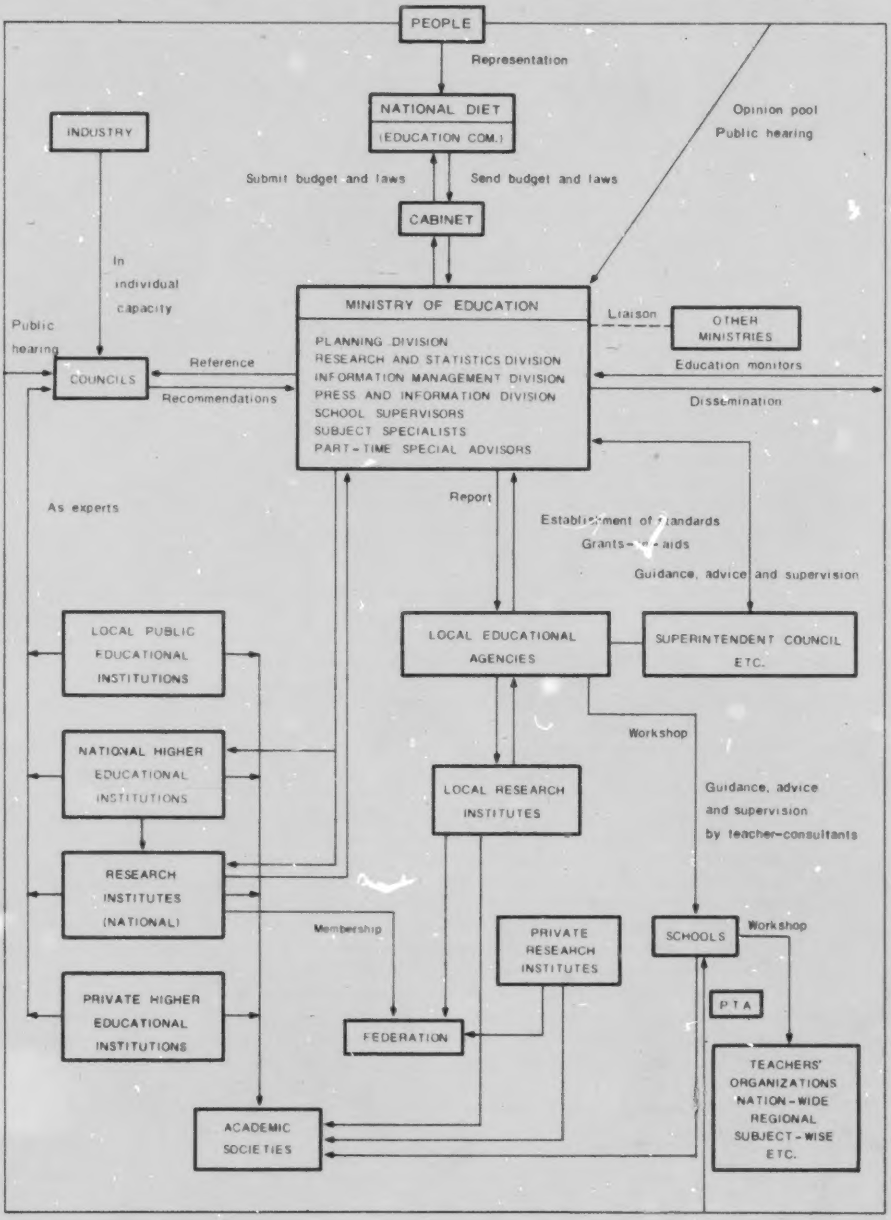
Along with the increase in functions of public administration, its activities become varied, its size expands, and its implication for people's everyday life becomes greater. In such situations, it is extremely important to develop administrative structures that allow educational decisions to be appropriately taken and popular needs for administrative activities readily satisfied. The traditional administrative agency, whose theoretical basis was administrative law and whose management principle was that of legality, should be so reorganised as to meet the highly advanced and diversified tasks of administration which are not necessarily legal in nature but often require expertise in many disciplines related to educational planning.

It is important to realize that this structural reorganisation may not be effective if the administrators who are to be given these varied and highly technical responsibilities are not properly trained. The traditional system of training and recruitment which emphasizes almost exclusively ability in law should therefore be changed.

Lastly, financing systems should be flexibly structured so as to enable schools to use their own characteristic methods of teaching. In Japan, the basic content of education is prescribed by the central education authority in the form of courses of study. The method of teaching, however, is decided by each school. The Ministry of Education is often criticized by the teachers' unions who claim that teachers are not given freedom in teaching. Although such criticisms are often raised at a political or ideological level, it should be recognized that legal or institutional freedom may not be effective unless systems are developed that will render the freedom viable. Increased flexibility in the financing structures, to enable alternative use of resources at the discretion of teachers or schools, should be one of the devices to bring about progress in this direction.

Appendix 1

OPERATING RELATIONSHIP OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION WITH OTHER AGENCIES


PEOPLE
Representation
NATIONAL DIET
(EDUCATION COM.)
Opinion pool
Public hearing
INDUSTRY
Submit budget and laws
Send budget and laws
CABINET
In individual capacity
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
PLANNING DIVISION
RESEARCH AND STATISTICS DIVISION
INFORMATION MANAGEMENT DIVISION
PRESS AND INFORMATION DIVISION
SCHOOL SUPERVISORS
SUBJECT SPECIALISTS
PART-TIME SPECIAL ADVISORS
Liaison
OTHER MINISTRIES
Public hearing
COUNCILS
Reference
Recommendations
Education monitors
Dissemination
As experts
Report
Establishment of standards
Grants-in-aids
Guidance, advice and supervision
LOCAL PUBLIC EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS
LOCAL EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES
SUPERINTENDENT COUNCIL ETC.
Workshop
NATIONAL HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS
LOCAL RESEARCH INSTITUTES
Guidance, advice and supervision by teacher-consultants
RESEARCH INSTITUTES (NATIONAL)
Membership
PRIVATE RESEARCH INSTITUTES
SCHOOLS
Workshop
PTA
PRIVATE HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS
FEDERATION
TEACHERS' ORGANIZATIONS NATION-WIDE REGIONAL SUBJECT-WISE ETC.
ACADEMIC SOCIETIES

Appendix 2

STUDENT PARTICIPATION

(The concept of student participation as contained in the "Report on Measures to Meet Problems Facing University Education in Japan" submitted by the Central Council for Education on April 30, 1969.)

Significance and Limits of the So-called "Student Participation"

One of the problems underlying the current university disputes is the fact that, despite the rapidly growing size of universities, their increasingly complex organisation and the greatly changing social consciousness of students, sufficient efforts have not been made to secure communication between students, teachers and administrators, and channels through which to take up reasonable student demands were not adequately provided, all of which often resulted in the accumulation of discontent among students, or the spread of misunderstanding, or mutual distrust of students and administrators or teachers. It is natural under these circumstances that it should become difficult to maintain order on the campuses and to carry on educational and research activities.

Wide discussion today of so-called "student participation" as a matter to be taken up by universities may certainly represent an attempt to cope with the current situation. However, if such student participation were to prove effective, students in general would have to show a more positive and constructive attitude towards the university problems while the university authorities themselves should be prepared adequately to meet the challenges before them.

While there are various examples of student participation in other countries, it should be borne in mind that they are not always applicable in universities in Japan since the growth of universities, the traits of students, etc. are based on historical and social backgrounds which differ from one country to another.

The following points must be carefully considered if student participation is to become effective in the universities of Japan.

1. Significance of Student Participation

What student participation signifies is that, in view of the status and role of students, universities are required to provide a means for communication of ideas on an all-university basis by setting up a permanent system for meeting reasonable demands of students and for adopting students' desires and opinions in the formulation of university policy.

These steps may serve to improve university management as well as educational and research activities. It is also expected that the experience of student participation may be helpful in bringing the social sense of students to maturity.

2. Areas of Student Participation and its Limits

In considering the areas in which students' wishes and opinions may be adopted positively, judgement should be based, in view of the above-stated significance of the students' participation, on the extent to which the students can be expected to make available their knowledge, experience, and capacities in such fields and problems as extra-curricular activities, student welfare, improvement of school environment or of educational programmes as well as of the contents and methods of teaching. However, it is not appropriate to include in these areas such matters as faculty personnel affairs, appraisal of students' records, university finance, etc. It is also inappropriate to institute such procedures as students' vote of confidence in electing university presidents, faculty deans, etc.

On the other hand, it is important to work out ways and means for adequately dealing with all desires, dissatisfactions or complaints among students, and for ensuring the provision of accurate information to students concerning various campus affairs.

3. Forms and Conditions of Student Participation

It goes without saying that if full scope is provided for each form of participation, there must be suitable conditions for it and that in deciding which form of participation should be applied to what problem area, the specific conditions prevailing in each university must necessarily be taken into account.

a) Hearing of Views

This method may include systematic surveys of ideas and opinions entertained by all students and the holding of meetings to give audience to their voices. It is desirable that arrangements be made to reflect students' opinions regarding the way in which problems should be taken up and that students be kept well informed as to action taken resulting from the hearings.

b) Representation

This is to comprise student representatives as formal members of university organs dealing with problems in the areas in which student participation is considered appropriate. The student representatives should be elected from among those who are well qualified by a free majority vote of students. These representatives should not be spokesmen for some particular student organisation: they are expected to observe the rules of the university organs of which they are members. The object of this method is to provide institutional means for ensuring that students' opinions are reflected in given areas of university administration and management, but care must be taken to assure effective communication between the student representatives and the student body.

The university organs which may be considered for student representation are advisory organs of decision-making bodies, preliminary discussion bodies and others of similar character. It is not appropriate, however, in view of the students' status, to recognize a system which would make possible student participation in any final decision-making body or which would enable students to reject the decisions of such bodies.

The so-called "bargaining" relationships in which representatives speaking for the interest of a student organisation sit in conference in opposition to the university administrators is not the same as the "participation of representatives" in which each constituent has his share of roles and responsibilities. Negotiations between students and university authorities are essentially different from the collective bargaining process between labour and management: the position that a university decision cannot be made unless agreement is reached in the negotiations is not to be permitted.

V

PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATIONAL PLANNING IN YUGOSLAVIA

by
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Rijeka
Yugoslavia

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I. THE "WHY" OF PARTICIPATION

Participation in educational planning must be looked upon as a functional component of the general trends in democratic societies and not as an isolated tendency having purpose in itself. Accordingly, participation is just another element in the broad, new educational platform, which must also be described if we wish to understand the full meaning of participation.

Each society is founded on a particular system of values (creeds) and each society tends to satisfy certain needs of its members. In democratic societies the system of values might be broadly depicted as follows:

(Diagram 1)

LEVELS OF VALUES	GOALS OR OBJECTIVES
4. The Individual	Individual Welfare Freedom Opportunity Self-realization Human dignity
3. Society	Social Welfare "The good life" Culture Civilization Order Justice
2. The Economic System	Consumer Welfare Allocation of resources Production and distribution of goods and services
1. The Business Firm	Ownership Welfare Growth Profits Survival

Socio-psychological researchers today generally agree that the system of human needs may be described in the following way:

(Diagram 2)

HIERARCHY OF HUMAN NEEDS

5. Self actualization needs - This level of needs is situated at the upper-most level of the hierarchy and represents needs for realizing one's own potentialities, for continuing self-development, and for being creative in the broadest sense.

4. Esteem needs - These needs lie in the hierarchy above the social needs and represent a basic desire for competence, status, self-respect, recognition, and appreciation or respect by one's fellowman.

3. Social needs - These needs emerge only after both physiological and safety needs are reasonably satisfied. Social needs are those for belonging, for being accepted by one's fellowman, for giving and receiving love and friendship.

2. Safety needs - When physiological needs are reasonably satisfied there emerges the need for protection from danger, threat, and deprivation of all forms.

1. Physiological needs - These are the lowest in a hierarchy of human needs and most important when not satisfied. Such needs are concerned with food, shelter, rest and other similar provisions.

The relation between the system of values and the system of needs must be very close, i.e. the concept of a social system of any kind must be not only economically but also psychologically and sociologically based.

Educational planning should be understood as planning of the society through education and, inversely, educational activity should ultimately mean activating all educational resources of the society (not only the institutional ones) to give a real context for participation in educational planning. Education must be planned so that it can lead to a society capable of satisfying the needs of its members on the basis of and in accordance with the adopted system of values.

Economic development of the human society also brings about an evolution in the quality of its values and needs, so in diagrams 1 and 2 we gradually climb to higher categories as soon as some lower one has developed to an acceptable level of satisfaction. The idea of participation satisfies even the highest category of values and needs, i.e. the self-realization or self-actualization, opportunity and freedom.

The realization of higher levels of values and needs contributes at the same time through a positive feedback to the realization of the more elementary values and needs.

If we try to define in the broadest sense the educational goals which could satisfy the above-mentioned concept we may conclude that there are three:

i) Socializing	(ability to make a contribution to society, to work for the common interest, to work in groups, etc.);
ii) Economizing	(ability to work, to produce, to earn, to improve production);
iii) Individualizing	(development of all positive aspects and potentials of one's personality, enriching life's functions rather than simply perpetuating them).

These are not three separate features of an educated person but rather are closely interrelated, yielding a complex personality. The third goal, individualizing, has in particular been neglected in some classical educational systems (including contemporary systems), or it has sometimes been interpreted as an "education for leisure". It is, however, a thoroughly different, and qualitatively higher, idea leading to the development of the totality of an individual's positive qualities and potentials.

Following from such concepts, new trends emerge within the educational system and society:

- the right to education for everyone,
- life-long (permanent) education,
- participation or self-management in educational planning and the educational process.

Self-management is more radical than participation. It means the right to make competent decisions about one's own interests and behaviour, while participation often means only the right to give one's advice or opinion. We can presume that participation is an introduction to self-management (the system for the integration of common interests, which also includes the idea of responsibility for the results).

The right of education is too often understood only as a possibility to enrol in a particular school (and perhaps to obtain scholarships or financial support). However, this right must also include the real possibility to obtain an education within the chosen school, which is one of the important reasons for the individual approach in education. Classical pedagogy in many cases cannot fulfil this task. (1) Participatory pedagogy(2) must therefore be based on the positive motivation of students, while traditional educational practice too often relies on the negative motivation as the stimulus (punishment, failures, etc.). The positive motivation is inevitable if we wish to develop a self-conscious, critical and self-critical mind which is indispensable for the process of participation. That means that the whole internal behaviour of the classical school must change, especially the relations between students, teachers and the school (i. e. not only curricula and financing which are most often emphasized).

The next feature of such an educational system must be cybernation, or the introduction of controlled processes based on the use of relevant feedback and stated educational objectives. This also means that management by tasks (defining activity) must be changed to management by (measurable) objectives (defining desired achievements). Participation in planning is meaningless if we cannot measure the results, or at least obtain reliable social indicators to tell us what happens within the system thereafter.

Life-long, permanent education within an institutional framework must be understood primarily as a qualitative, not quantitative, concept; it is the development of one's aptitude for self-education, for independent intellectual work, for skilled use of various sources of information and the understanding of processes and relations rather than simply the accumulation of many facts.

Accepting the concept of permanent education requires also substantial changes in the taxonomical structure of educational objectives

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1. Beresford Hayward states: "If a greater population of pupils coming from certain social classes or milieu show learning disadvantages, education should particularly find the level of resources and the techniques which effectively eliminate such disadvantage." Educational Planning in Perspective, IPC Science and Technology Press, Guildford, England, 1971.

2. Cf. Part One of this volume, B. Hayward, op.cit.

within our curricula(1) : participation in planning rests on the condition that people are skilled in analysis, synthesis and evaluation ("thinking with one's own head"). This means, in fact, that the upper part of B. Bloom's system of educational objectives is at the moment very poorly represented in our curricula and practice, and an essential change of educational methods as well as content is needed: these objectives must be achieved through individualized instruction.

The traditional reforms are often only recombinations of the old variables; real reform is based on the transition to new horizons. For example, our entire education is derived from classical (Aristotle) logic which is based on the immediate time-space connection between the cause and its effect. In simpler cases it works very well, but in the planning of such complex social systems as education this way of thinking could prove useless since such systems are characterized precisely by the absence of the immediate connection between cause and effect. Because of the complicated processes and multiple interrelations between input and output which take place within the system, only a long-term analysis of the system's behaviour can yield indications for good planning and control. This means that participation in educational planning always means participation in long-term planning. (Strangely enough, this new way of thinking coincides with similar trends in the contemporary sciences, e. g. in nuclear physics where the cause-effect principle disappears and is substituted by the law of probability. This is but one illustration of the dramatic changes taking place in the nature of contemporary man, science and society which the educational system is now trying to reflect.)

In short, today we are already in a position to intimate a new platform for conceptualizing the educational system based on participation in planning and decision-making, explicitely defined goals and objectives, the general right to education, the concept of permanent education, cybernation of the system and its processes, participatory pedagogy, an individual approach to students, realization of the higher taxonomical objectives, the new educational technology and organisation of work, as well as revised contents and new knowledge in the curricula.

It may be assumed that this new platform, in fact, reflects general trends in contemporary civilization and culture. Only within such a broad concept does participation assume its full meaning and importance.

II. THE "HOW" OF PARTICIPATION

Participation in educational planning and decision-making - whether from outside or inside the system - passes principally through two tightly connected and interrelated phases: first, the process of decision-making, and second, the execution and control of those processes in accordance with the strategic decision. A theoretical scheme of rational, and at the same time democratic, participatory decision-making implies:

i) that the participants in the planning process are acquainted with all possible alternatives or possibilities of choice;
ii) that they know all major predictable effects of each possible alternative;

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1. Benjamin S. Bloom, Taxonomy of Educational Objectives - Cognitive Domain, David McKay Co., New York, 1956.

iii) that they have an established scale or system of values or goals against which they evaluate each alternative and determine priorities.

In short, an abundance of information is needed for participation in planning to be effective in finding the variant nearest the common interest. (1) The integration of the interests of all participants in planning can be realized only on the basis of complex and complete information concerning the relevant facts.

Decisions made on the basis of only partial knowledge of facts, alternatives, combinations and effects are not a product of scientific investigation of optimal possibilities, but rather a product of negotiation between pressure-groups which diminishes the level of rationality. In this type of conflict, those groups prevail which dispose of greater power or more information, i. e. a situation results which favours those social groups having a monopoly of information. From a set of insufficiently known alternatives they then choose the one which satisfies only a part of the common interests, but which is nearest to their particular interest, proclaiming it the only possible solution (technocracy). In such an instance participation turns into a kind of mass-psychotherapy or a more refined method of manipulation, after which it soon loses ground or the interest of the participants.

In positive cases, however, the participants - supplied with essential information reduced to a reasonable quantity of understandable data - make decisions primarily of strategic character, and do not consider peripheral questions.

The process of participation is closely connected with the creation of a new type of decentralization and centralization - based not so much on the dominance of hierarchical groups but more on the integration of interests and autonomy of all members of the system - which also contributes to a creative initiative and humanization of management. As stated earlier, increased autonomy requires the transition from the traditional management by tasks to management by objectives.

III. PARTICIPATORY EXPERIENCES

Experiences in participation in a country where the idea of self-management is being developed as the basic underlying concept of society can be of particular interest. In such a situation where the struggle for the principle of participation is no longer necessary, it is easier to observe clearly the hindrances, problems and powers which emerge directly from the participative relations in a real social context.

The educational laws and other documents in Yugoslavia introduce participation in the fields of financing and planning (i. e. from outside the educational system: the citizens, their associations and companies) as well as within the educational system where participation of students becomes not only possible or legal but compulsory. Here are some examples:

> "Financial resources for elementary education are provided through a referendum of all citizens in the commune . . ."
>
> (Law on Financing of Education)

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1. The importance of ample information for this purpose is well emphasized in Part One of this volume.

> "Educational institutions are managed by their employees, students, representatives of the society, business firms, parents and citizens ... In schools' managing boards, students are represented by at least one third of the board's members."
>
> (Law on Secondary Education; Law on Higher Education)

The basic idea was to place in direct confrontation the final protagonists in education: the taxpayers on the one side and the teachers in their self-managed schools on the other - without a state commission or any other administrative organisation. It was hoped that such a new "market situation" (instead of the traditional budgeting) would stimulate both sides to bargain or to negotiate with each other which would presumably result both in better financing and in better education. The transition, of course, has not been sudden but very gradual, so today - two decades later - we can state that only a part of the road has been covered and that a long way is still before us.

In any case it is clear today that the traditional models of educational planning, budgeting, management, behaviour and relations have deep roots, so modern legislation can only stimulate action; it cannot change reality for which a long and patient practical struggle is necessary. The results and experiences in this field are invaluable and require analysis and evaluation, which cannot be done in these few pages.

It is evident, however, that the traditional educational system is very resistant to any change in its own behaviour: it can rather easily accept moderately revised curricula (if imposed from the outside), but not if they require a different behaviour of the educational system. The case resembles that of a tape-recorder which is ready to play back any tape but will stop working at once if you try to alter one part of its machinery (new relations). In practice, the elementary school proved to be the most progressive in implementing innovations and the University, the most conservative. Even with dissatisfaction with the quality of education, it was not only the school but also its environment that sometimes tended to preserve the old relations. In some instances, the new system of direct "market relations" spontaneously returned to the traditional routine budgeting, notwithstanding the new organisational forms.

Also the official participation of students on school boards did not always mean their actual participation in planning and decision-making; lack of knowledge, teacher-student relations based on certification and authority, traditional family education of the students, etc. often made them only passive witnesses of educational planning and decision-making in schools. In many instances when they intervened it was not on strategic questions but rather to solve individual cases and minor interests.

One specific example will perhaps illustrate how participation can serve education. The author has witnessed a case where a diversified educational programme was offered to the citizens of an industrially developed town having thirty elementary schools with some 18,000 pupils. Several alternatives were designed, the most expensive offering free books, school canteens, new school buildings and playgrounds, and greater success for the pupils - in a word, a general modernization of the school system. The citizens voted for the most expensive alternative which meant, of course, higher taxes. The result was a kind of educational renaissance in the outside appearance of schools and to some extent, in the quality of teaching. The teacher-pupil relations and methods of teaching did not significantly change, however, so the school administrators had to face a serious problem: the citizens had also expected for their money a change in the quality of relations.

This example proves that participation can spontaneously bring on new problems, some of them being quite unexpected. In this particular case a sudden flow of money, after a long drought had a double effect: it was beneficient in general, but it also served to identify the weakness of the "greengrocer who was not able to offer first-class vegetables for first-class money", in either case offering only "standard vegetables".

"Turning inside" and "seeing one's self in the mirror" was the next step of the school authorities and teachers' staff, a process still going on in the town. However, the progress is evident: for example, in five years the average failure rate of 8% dropped to 2 to 4%, mostly due to individual and small-group instruction introduced for the retarded (and talented) children in the schools.

The introduction of direct encounter between the interested parties is today current practice in Yugoslav education, not only in elementary schools through the "Educational Associations" of citizens and teachers, but also in secondary and higher education through their branch-associations for the various sectors of the economy. The system of the "integration of common interests" - the self-management, which puts teachers and students at the same table working on common goals - has opened new horizons which must be realistically evaluated. However, we cannot deny that the presence of students on school boards improved relations and mutual understanding of the problems on both sides, as well as the quality of teaching and learning. No case was recorded whatsoever where participation of students damaged the atmosphere in the school or elicited unwanted problems.

Participation, in spite of difficulties which are greater than expected, proved to be sufficiently challenging and promising as to engage the most creative powers in Yugoslav education in an effort to develop an educational system which could satisfy the needs of a developing country. Furthermore, participation has already proved to be the best tool for achieving this goal.

VI

DEVELOPING A PARTICIPATORY PROCESS FOR EDUCATIONAL PLANNING: THE NEW JERSEY EXPERIENCE

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

"... citizens have a right to be heard and governments have a duty to hear ..."

In a recent article on long-range educational planning, Kjell Eide(1) counsels educational planners to reconsider the role they want to play in relation to other actors in the policy-making process. He also singles out educational goals for special consideration.

> "[illegible]cation is a service industry with no "hardware" products. Yet, [illegible]d mechanically to apply to this sector similar measures of productivity and performance as have been developed within manufacturing industries. We focus on the final product - the qualified person - with no concern for preceding processes."
>
> "... The question of goals in this context is intriguing. Who is it that should be served by educational activities? Is it the assumed "clients" - the student? Or should in fact education appropriately be regarded as a manufacturing industry, producing finished products upon specifications given by their parents or by "society"?"
>
> "The answer to this question is decisive for the future orientation of educational planning".

The writer of this paper agrees with Eide concerning the significance of his question and with his admonition to planners regarding their relationships to other agents in the policy-making process. Educational planners, increasingly in the next decade, must redefine their role with respect to both the "client" (the student) and "society" (parent and others). This new role will rely heavily on participation and involvement on the part of those affected by the results of planner's efforts. A recent two-year programme in participatory educational planning at the state level in New Jersey demonstrates that this role, together with new relationships for the educational planner, is indeed desirable. The New Jersey participatory process also answered the nature-of-the-industry question, namely, education has to be regarded as being some of both (service and product) but with substantially more emphasis needing to be directed to the client's service aspects than heretofore registered.

This paper describes the recent participatory planning experiment in New Jersey, its relevant circumstances, the reason for its primary

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1. K. Eide, "Politics of Long-Range Planning: The Strange World of Planners", Educational Planning in Perspective, ed. Thomas Green. Futures, IPC Science and Technology Press Ltd., Guildford, Surrey, England, 1971, pp. 14-16.

concern with educational goals, its outcomes, and its probable impact on educational planning in the future.

II. BACKGROUND

In 1968, the Federal government through its Office of Education drastically revised the regulations governing the administration of Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. This Title, which formerly had been administered by the U. S. Office of Education to promote innovation and creative change in the nation's schools through the allocation of $187 million, was revised to give the individual states the decision-making authority for distribution of these funds within each state by the state's educational agency(SEA). With this change, however, a special and unprecedented condition was specified: each SEA in the foreseeable future would have to develop a plan for an assessment of educational need and then base, or at least justify, its subsequent distribution of Title III funds on those educational priorities, once such a Needs Assessment plan had been implemented.

Each SEA chose to interpret and proceed with this directive in its own way although the U. S. Office of Education maintained some influence through its requirement to approve annually "state plans" covering use of the monies by each agency before funds could be disbursed. In the State of New Jersey, (1) the Needs Assessment question was viewed as having a prior qualification.

What was first required, ascertained the Office of Planning in the New Jersey State Department of Education, was to identify a set of comprehensive statewide educational goals. Only then would it be possible to state with any certainty for the policy and decision-makers, as well as Title III programme administrators, what the state's educational deficiencies were. The Office of Planning conducted a search of the literature and records to identify statewide educational goals. Many pronouncements of policy and tributes to the desirability for (more) education or better teachers abounded, but no set of goals associated with a student's investment of 6, 8 or 12 years of his life in the public educational system, either recent or antiquated, could be discovered.

It became clear that a set of comprehensive educational goals for the state's public school system remained to be produced. It became equally clear that probably the simplest method of assessing these goals, the appointment of a sub-committee to study and report to the State Board, would no longer be viewed as an adequate procedure. The significant changes in the popular perception of education and educators which had occurred over the recent past required an entirely new process, and essentially for three critical reasons: credibility, accountability and the demand for change.

i) Credibility. In New Jersey, as in many other states in the United States, the late 1960's were characterized by the culmination of many years of growing frustration and disil-

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1. New Jersey is a state on the Eastern U. S. seaboard between New York and Pennsylvania. It comprises 7,800 square miles, has a population of 7.2 million (1970 census) with 1.5 million public school students kindergarten through grade 12 in 1972. It consists of 579 local school districts, ranging in size from 79,000 students (Newark) to 43 students, with a median of about 1,300 students.

lusionment on the part of the public and students with the style and product of the public schools' operation. Long highly regarded by the general public, educational leaders and administrators were now being viewed as but still another layer of governmental bureaucrats and, as a group, defenders of the status quo with a vested interest in that status. The planners and decision-makers in the New Jersey SEA concluded that anything as global and significant as the preparation and recommendation of a set of goals for the public educational system would no longer be acceptable to the public if it were confined solely to educators.

ii) Accountability. During the late sixties, the public began to express more serious reservation about the increased costs of education, exemplified by a record turn-down of school bond votes and rejection of annual school budgets. If long-range policies and decisions affecting costs and expenditures, as well as direction and scope of the educational enterprise, were to receive moral and financial support, then the parents, taxpayers and others would have to see the goals as theirs and not ones thrust on them by the "Establishment".

iii) Demand for change. Disillusionment and frustration grew as the extent of urban education crises, alienated students, and academic failures at all grade levels and in all geographical sectors became widely known. Demands for more effective educational programmes were intensified, usually expressed as a desire for better teachers, more individualized instruction, and the abolition of tenure for teachers and administrators. The late fifties and early sixties were years when educational innovation became popular and was generally supported. In the late sixties, the essentially unrealized promises of the innovators combined with the difficulties experienced by the educational system and the accumulating quantitative and qualitative demands led to a stronger insistence by the public for reform and/or rededication.

III. THE "OUR SCHOOLS" PROJECT

For reasons cited above, it was deemed critical that the goals established in New Jersey be developed utilizing a participatory process in which the public would play a major and prominent role. A precedent for such an approach was not available and a special participatory process was therefore developed by the SEA's Office of Planning. It was given the name "Our Schools" and consisted of these key elements:

i) Participants. Individuals representing different segments of the general public were invited to engage in the various planned activities. This representation included students (high school and college), parents, businessmen, professionals, blue collar and clerical workers, governmental representatives and civil servants, retired citizens, and others. In addition, participants were drawn from a geographical cross-section of the State and also representing urban, suburban and rural constituents.
Professional educators were involved but their numbers were generally limited to twenty or thirty per cent of the total, the

reason being the credibility issue cited earlier. Furthermore, it was readily apparent from previous conferences involving educators and lay citizens that the latter tended to be dominated in such discussions by the more articulate professionals. It was also assumed that educators would still have ample opportunity to express their views. Nevertheless, when educators were formally involved, an attempt was made to draw representatives from all levels (college, secondary, elementary), professional areas (general, vocational, remedial, guidance), and specialities (administrative, supervisory, instructional). Various professional associations and groups were also involved, including school board members. (1)

ii) Activities. A series of meetings were scheduled at the state, regional, and local/community levels. Letters were solicited. A scientifically and professionally conducted public opinion poll was sponsored. (Attendance at meetings was limited only at the state level.)

iii) Timing. The various activities were scheduled for 12 to 15 months but actually took 24 months to complete, the regional phase which depended almost exclusively on citizens' leadership and development requiring a longer time than expected.

iv) Organisation. At the state level, the project was managed by the staff of the Office of Planning. A special Advisory Council was appointed by the State Board to guide the project's development. At the regional level, conferences were organised by lay citizens, guided by specially created citizen advisory panels. These leaders were trained and provided with materials by the State Department staff. At the local level, local leaders organised meetings also using materials furnished by the Department. At each level, the outcomes of the meetings were recorded and submitted to the State Department for compilation and redistribution. The SEA also employed special consultants to provide technical and supportive assistance.

v) Publicity. To generate support and co-operation for the project a special campaign, utilizing television commercials, films, radio "spot" announcements, newspaper releases, and special publications and reports, was launched. A major portion of publicity costs was financed by a grant from a private commercial organisation.

vi) Process. The entire participatory approach, once detailed by the SEA's Office of Planning, was submitted to the state's Commissioner of Education for approval. He in turn presented it to the State Board of Education which accepted it and established a special Advisory Council for it. The Governor of the state added his strong public endorsement. Publica-

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1. This decision carried with it some consequences that were not entirely unforseen. Educational groups, including teachers, administrators and school board members took issue with this approach (placing major emphasis on the public's input and the limitation on the educational contingent). Many regarded the project as a thinly disguised effort to diminish their influence in educational affairs.

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tions and reports were distributed to local school boards, professional organisations, the state's newspapers, and the entire SEA staff.

The Advisory Council convened every four to six weeks and spent considerable time evaluating and guiding project activities. Throughout, the Advisory Council was deeply concerned with the process and the qualitative aspects of citizen participation.

After some 24 months, more than 30 meetings, the official registration of some 6,000 citizens in project activities, and the completion of a special public opinion poll, a set of goals was produced. The final version of the goals was the result of numerous rewritings and modifications, re-submitted in revised form to the public at each stage of the project. In fact, two sets of goals were produced. One set dealt with the desired product or outcomes of education and were termed "Product Goals". Another set, unanticipated but insisted upon by the public, dealt with the nature and quality of the learning, the structure and the environment associated with education; these goals were termed "Process Goals" and the public felt equally as strongly about these as they did the former. (Both sets of goals comprise Appendix A of this paper.)

In addition to the two sets of goals, the Advisory Council and the SEA submitted to the State Board of Education a set of recommendations which were subsequently adopted regarding goals, public involvement, and future stages for the SEA in carrying out its Needs Assessment responsibilities. This plan constitutes Phase II of the "Our Schools" Project and is at present under way in New Jersey. (This phase is described in Appendix B.)

IV. THE PARTICIPATORY PROCESS, RE-EXAMINED

Some critics have observed that the results of the participatory planning process thus far in New Jersey are represented by a set of goals not very much different from statements developed elsewhere and available previously. These critics infer that the time, energies and expenses involved in the "Our Schools" participatory planning were unnecessary. Others have criticized the project, while lauding the process, for alleged shortcomings in its design or insufficient involvement on the part of the public - either in numbers or in the manner of participation. Nevertheless, the general public and the press were, in significant measure, responsive and favourable to this approach.

The SEA decision-makers and planners unanimously agreed that the participation engendered by the "Our Schools" project was desirable and should permeate all future similar endeavours of the SEA. The process, too, was also ratified, albeit the need for refinement and modification was recognized.

Among the several by-products of the participatory process were these:

i) identification of many capable and concerned lay leaders across the state;

ii) development of a special set of procedures and materials by the SEA encouraging lay participation in goal development (now being evaluated in selected pilot districts of New Jersey);

iii) realization of considerable benefit through increased understanding and first-hand confrontation among laymen and with professional educators; this "horizontal communication", as it is termed by Hayward, (1) was undeniably evident during the "Our Schools" Project.

In retrospect, the following conclusions regarding participatory planning, based on the New Jersey "Our Schools" experience, are offered:

i) Sincere and genuine participation of the public in educational policy, decision-making, planning and evaluation is both desirable and possible.

ii) In view of the present status of public regard for the educational system, participatory planning is especially warranted.

iii) Although it is difficult for lay citizens to deal with comprehensive educational goals and outcomes, and the general preference is usually to focus on more immediate and specific school and staff problems or issues, it is possible to complete successfully such an exercise if the public is given suitable opportunity and pertinent data to confront the task.

iv) If genuine and substantive participatory planning is to take place in the various stages and activities associated with planning, then a number of conditions must be met:

  a) the public and educators alike must be given ample time, assistance and experience to assume this new role;

  b) appropriate participatory techniques for each type of planning activity must be developed and field-tested, and an adequate variety of alternative methods made available for special group situations;

  c) decision-makers, planners, educational practitioners and the public at large must come to realize that there are several costs associated with the participatory process, namely:

    - additional time is needed to perform planning activities;
    - additional financial costs, manpower and resources may be involved;
    - the planning process may become politicized, producing possible positive or negative side effects; and
    - certain pressure groups, leaders, or special interest consortia may attempt to control or thwart the process.

v) Participatory planning as a process reflects the present concerns and views of those engaged in the activity. This points up two implications of far-reaching significance:

  a) Today's public and professional concerns can change drastically with turns in events; indeed, it has been observed that our present rate of change is unprecedented in world history. Thus, recommendations, no matter how representative or accurate, become almost immediately obsolete. This means that the participatory planning process, to be timely, must be continuous or cyclical and its results subject to frequent re-examination.

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1. See Part One of this volume.

b) It is extremely difficult for the general public to think about likely developments of the future; the longer the time projection the more difficult is this task. Thus, if planning is to maintain a future orientation, this cumbersome aspect of public behaviour must be counterbalanced in some special way.

Hayward (1) has stated that the participatory planning process requires the support of mechanisms which include (a) a network of communications, (b) a framework of information and (c) a structure of support for deviation, innovation and redress of inequality. The "Our Schools"/New Jersey participatory experience would support such an observation in the context of the foregoing conclusions.

V. CONCLUSION

The participatory educational planning experiment in New Jersey was completed recently and a second phase is now under way. The participatory process, developed specifically for goal formulation, proved itself to the satisfaction of planners, decision-makers and participants in New Jersey. Similar procedures will be employed in the future in comprehensive planning efforts in the state, but it is obvious that present techniques need to be refined and many more developed for the various activities associated with planning.

The participatory planning process is one to be advocated because it develops a product which has had broad-based public input, and because the method itself is a further instance of the democratic process in action.

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1. See Part One.

Appendix A

THE NEW JERSEY NEEDS ASSESSMENT ADVISORY COUNCIL (1)

proposes the following set of Statewide Educational Outcome Goals for New Jersey.

The public schools of New Jersey should help every person in the State:

To acquire basic skills in obtaining information, solving problems, thinking critically, and communicating effectively.

To acquire a stock of basic information concerning the principles of the physical, biological and social sciences, the historical record of human achievements and failures, and current social issues.

To become an effective and responsible contributor to the decision-making processes of the political and other institutions of the community, state, country and world.

To acquire the knowledge, skills, and understandings that permit him/her to play a satisfying and responsible role as both producer and consumer.

To acquire the ability to form satisfying and responsible relationships with a wide range of other people, including but not limited to those with social and cultural characteristics different from his/her own.

To acquire the capacities for playing satisfying and responsible roles in family life.

To acquire the knowledge, habits, and attitudes that promote personal and public health, both physical and mental.

To acquire the ability and the desire to express himself/herself creatively in one or more of the arts, and to appreciate the esthetic expressions of other people.

To acquire an understanding of ethical principles and values and the ability to apply them to his/her own life.

To develop an understanding of his/her own worth, abilities, potentialities, and limitations.

1. February 2, 1972.

To learn to enjoy the process of learning and to acquire the skills necessary for a lifetime of continuous learning and adaptation to change.

THE NEW JERSEY NEEDS ASSESSMENT ADVISORY COUNCIL (1)

proposes the following set of Statewide Educational Process Goals for New Jersey.

The public schools of New Jersey should:

Insure that all instruction bears a meaningful relationship to the present or future needs and/or interests of students.

Insure that each student has significant opportunities, consistent with his/her age, for helping to determine the nature of his/her educational experiences.

Insure that specialized and individualized kinds of educational experiences are available for meeting with the particular needs of every student.

Insure that teachers and students have significant opportunities for participating in the decisions affecting the operations of the schools they work in or attend.

Provide comprehensive guidance facilities and services of high quality for every student.

Seek to structure competition among students in ways that are less harmful than present practices are.

Insure that the resources available for education are used with maximum efficiency.

Insure that instructional, administrative and support staffs are of high quality in every respect.

Develop and utilize diverse forms of constructive co-operation with parents and community groups.

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1. February 2, 1972.

Appendix B

THE "OUR SCHOOLS"/NEEDS ASSESSMENT PROJECT: PHASE TWO OVERVIEW

(PROJECT GOAL)	To attain, state-wide, the "*Goals for Education in New Jersey*" as adopted by the State Board of Education on April 12, 1972.
(TASK-FORCE OBJECTIVE)	To define, specify, and delineate what a goal is by: - identifying sub-goals - developing measurable performance objectives - determining critical indices or reference criteria - instigating the development of performance measures and/or measurement instruments
(PHASE TWO OBJECTIVE)	In order that a goal may be assessed by: - application of measures - collection and analysis of data - research and development of position paper(s)
(PROJECT OBJECTIVE)	To enable: - the development of viable programme alternatives and options - the instigation of new programmes or thrusts, their evaluation, and the broad dissemination and implementation of successful new approaches.

VII

THE ILLINOIS EXPERIMENT IN PARTICIPATORY PLANNING

by

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I. BACKGROUND FOR PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT

The shocks generated by unprecedented social changes of the past two decades have led United States' educators at all levels to become increasingly concerned with the need for moving from management of crises to more careful planning of educational systems. But early attempts at installing planning functions in educational agencies met with very limited success. Plans developed were placed on shelves, while decision-makers wandered from crisis to crisis.

Underlying these crises was a growing movement which went unrecognized by planners and educational decision-makers. Historically, United States citizens had measured the success of the educational system in quantitative terms - numbers of students who went to college; number of new classrooms which were constructed. But the vast social changes of the past two decades led to a growing dissatisfaction with the *quality* of the educational process. Unfortunately, planners tended to disregard these complaints in favour of developing plans which were still addressed to quantitative problems.

Isolated attempts at individualizing the instructional process began to occur in the 1960's, but educational planners neglected the need to open the planning process to the growing numbers of critics of the quality of United States education. As a result many attempts at individualizing instruction were disasters. While the individualized instruction programmes were well intentioned, the process of planning for such programmes violated a basic principle of the individualization process. On the one hand, professional educators were saying that students should be given much more initiative in planning their instructional programme. On the other hand, the process of planning for such "individualized" programmes neglected to provide avenues of participation by the various clients of the educational enterprise. In short the substantive nature of what was happening in the school changed rather drastically. But the process of planning and implementing that substantive change was planned in isolation of the clients of the educational enterprise.

At the same time that educators were attempting and generally failing to bring about lasting substantive changes in the instructional process, the financial support of education at the federal, state, and local level was increasing at an unprecedented rate - placing an ever-increasing burden upon taxpayers who had little voice in shaping, let alone questioning, the quality of that educational enterprise. The taxpayer thus found that his only avenue of expression of discontent was at the ballot box where he was allowed to vote upon proposed increases in tax rates. In the late 1960's these taxpayers began to resist attempts at providing greater sums of money for an educational system which provided little evidence of qualitative success. (1)

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1. For example, in the State of Illinois more than 60% of local tax referenda were defeated.

It was largely this growing taxpayer resistance which prompted a significant shift in the processes of educational planning in Illinois. Historically, the State Education Office has played a passive and regulatory role. Providing planning leadership to the more than 1,100 separate school districts of the State had not been a recognized or accepted function of that office. In early 1971, however, a new State Superintendent of Public Instruction, assessing the growing public discontent and feelings of isolation from the decision-making process, launched a call for a "participatory democracy which will truly make the educational enterprise a public one".

The discussions which followed in the State Office centred around the need to "open up" the process of educational decision-making to a broader segment of the State's population. But it soon became clear that if one wished to open up the decision-making process, it was first necessary to open the planning processes which precede the decision-making act.

Unfortunately, there was no conventional wisdom or "rules of the game" regarding the creation of participatory planning mechanisms. In the past, participation in planning for Statewide programmes had been restricted to planning for specific programmes such as a Statewide programme for education of gifted children. Never had there been an attempt to plan for the broad range of the unique educational needs of Illinois.

The first attempt at broadening participation in planning by the State Education Office was the creation of twelve regional citizens' advisory councils. Each council represented the broad range of educational interests of a specific geographic region - students, parents, teachers, school administrators and lay citizens.

Secondly, the new Superintendent and his top advisers sought to create an even broader range of input from the various educational constituencies of the State which could provide a sense of direction for planning quality improvements in education in the State. The first idea centred around a large conference which would be convened to discuss educational goals and priorities. As discussion proceeded, it was decided that such a conference would be preceded by six public hearings held in different geographic regions of the State. The hearings would be completely open-ended; any citizen could discuss his perception of the State's educational needs and suggest desired future directions for education in the State. The Superintendent and his top advisers would attend each hearing as hearing officers. Finally, it was decided that a document which summarized these hearings would form the basis for discussion at the conference.

The planning for the public hearings and a conference on goals and priorities was undergirded by several basic philosophical principles. First, education is too important a matter to be left exclusively to educators. Second, a heavily taxed public, restive about the purpose and qualitative outcomes of education, has an indisputable right to question that quality and to help determine the future of the school system. Third, various publics have an inimitable ability for bringing to bear on the decision-making process new sensitivities and insights which too frequently are dismissed by educators. Finally, no significant and desired change in education is possible without broad public support.

II. THE PUBLIC HEARINGS

Each of the hearings was expected to draw participants from a wide geographical area, as well as a wide diversity of backgrounds. Representatives from schools, students, parents and civic organisations were sought. A special effort was made to achieve minority group representation.

Regional and local district superintendents were invited to participate in the hearings, and a list was drawn up of groups, organisations, and individuals who would receive notification prior to each of the six hearings. Participation by representatives of each of these groups and organisations was actively encouraged.

The hearings did, in fact, draw large numbers of persons who expressed opinions in an open and frank manner. Some witnesses came to indict the public school system in Illinois, and did so adamantly. Others offered constructive ideas about needed educational changes. At the close of the six hearings, 641 persons had presented formal testimony. More than 2,000 had attended.

Generally, witnesses presented a testimony and then responded to questions from the hearing panel. Some of the most revealing concerns surfaced in these question and answer sessions. In fact, the schedule for each hearing fell far behind because of lengthy question and answer sessions.

Two categories of themes emerged during the hearings: procedural and substantive. Substantive concerns were those areas which dealt with the form education should take in the future. Generally, this type of testimony dealt with the more philosophical issues such as more flexibility versus the return to the three R's and the need for individualized instruction rather than the lock-step patterns of traditional educational programmes.

The procedural concerns involved efforts to support quality education, whatever form that education might take. Such issues as the financial support level, school organisation, and the preparation, evaluation, and retention of teachers can be regarded as procedural concerns. These factors undergird and support the real substance of education. They do not, in and of themselves, provide clear directions for student-centred goals for education in the 1970's.

III. SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES

Criticisms were levelled throughout the hearings at a great number of aspects of the present educational system. It was argued that the young people are currently instructed in a way as to instill in them an aversion to education and diminish the regard for themselves as adequate and valued human beings.

The need for sensitive and child-centred teachers was articulated by many, particularly by the student witnesses who argued that learning was not just being taught. A spokesman for a group of concerned black citizens called for laws to be made to deal with problems inside the school. Appeals for greater sensitivity toward minority children, relating teaching and programmes to student background, were entered.

Impressive numbers of witnesses criticized present educational techniques and structures as barriers to developing favourable attitudes toward learning.

Accompanying the issues of humane and open educational practices was the repeated desire for adapting educational processes to individual needs. Experimentation and innovation were also encouraged, but a significant number of witnesses expressed ambivalence regarding innovations which have been attempted. They were unsure of their success and were sceptical about the seemingly excessive costs.

Central to the concern for individualized instruction was the desire for broader involvement in planning the curriculum of the schools. Prekindergarten education was seen as another necessary component in the development of individualized programmes.

In addition, numerous witnesses cited the need for the State Office of Public Instruction to assume a greater leadership role in advancing carefully planned and evaluated methods for individualizing instruction from prekindergarten through adult education.

Finally, present curricular offerings were attacked as irrelevant to the non-college-bound student. The need for improved career education was advocated by a wide cross section of witnesses. The goal of training all students for the world of work was seen as a high priority issue. Career education was seen as a necessary ingredient of all educational programmes, from elementary through adult education.

Closely allied with the issues of humanistic education and curriculum revision, demands for an accountable educational system were consistently expressed. The public urged that teachers, administrators, and school boards assess their educational accomplishments, and communicate more clearly these results and outcomes. No one suggested that accountability programmes would be easy to establish. But the testimony made it clear that the public was demanding steps be taken to establish methods for gathering information about results produced by the schools. Time and again this demand was made. Witnesses feared that unless these steps were taken, the public's confidence in the schools would continue to weaken.

The most vociferous critics of education in Illinois were those affected by unequal educational opportunity: the poor, the minority groups, and the parents of exceptional children. Testing programmes which are culturally biased were frequently attacked. These demands for equalizing educational opportunity provided a priority focal point of every public hearing. A member of the State legislature urged that the State of Illinois meet its obligation for equal opportunities for children "regardless of the geographic location or economic conditions".

IV. PROCEDURAL ISSUES

The priority procedural issues discussed most frequently by witnesses centred around inadequate financing of the schools, school governance, and legal issues involving discipline and the rights of students, parents, and professional educators.

Inadequate financing of the schools of the State was identified as a major barrier to equalizing educational opportunity. Numerous representatives of farmers' organisations revealed how the cost-price-tax squeeze affected their ability to support education. While there was overriding discontent with the current financial crisis, there was no consensus on the desirable sources of additional revenues. Suggestions varied from sole reliance upon increased income taxes to establishing a state-wide lottery. In spite of this lack of consensus one demand was clear, the State must assume primary responsibility for financing schools.

A second major procedural concern was the need for opening up the process of school governance. A nagging feeling of isolation from the educational decision-making process was expressed by a number of citizens. Witnesses from large cities said school boards were too remote to be receptive to community needs. Rural representation attacked school boards as closed systems. Phrases such as "credibility gap" and "secret meetings" were repeated throughout the hearings. However expressed, the theme was clear: the desire to create a participatory and more open system of school governance.

Recognition of student rights was seen as a critical element of any effective educational programme. Protection of student rights by due process was urged by educators, students and parents. Numerous court decisions were cited as a rationale.

Conflicting opinions regarding the law and discipline in the schools were voiced. In some instances, administrators were highly critical of present legal provisions dealing with discipline matters. They sought revisions in The School Code of Illinois to allow them to handle more effectively suspensions and expulsions. A number of representatives of minority groups identified irrelevant, meaningless curriculum as the root cause of discipline problems.

By the completion of the six hearings it was clear that the discussion of the numerous issues had provided a call for basic educational reform in the State. But the unique concept of holding hearings as a prelude to developing any written document was not without sceptics.

V. THE DRAFT PLAN AND THE CHICAGO CONFERENCE

No one expected witnesses to present a detailed programme of educational change from the podium. This was the job of the State Education Office, a job outlined by the priorities and concerns expressed in the hearings. The document thus generated would be subject to revision by a three-day state-wide conference held in Chicago at the end of September 1971.

Staff members were assigned to review the more than twenty pounds of written testimony and seventy-five hours of audio taped records and to write portions of the draft in accordance with a suggested outline. Reactions to the rough draft were solicited from within the Office of the Superintendent and from outside. After modifications this draft was printed and ready for advance distribution to conference participants. Each person who indicated a desire to attend the conference received a copy of the draft document. In addition to the document, a film drawn from footage of the hearings had been prepared to serve as a connecting link between the hearings and the conference itself.

The draft was unique in that it was time specific. Unlike a large number of public reports, it did not call for reforms and changes at an unnamed future date, but attempted to place them within a time framework. Every action objective and most necessary steps contained a specific target date for accomplishment.

It was determined that the second day of the conference should be spent in small workshops, which would review, discuss and suggest changes in the draft document. A general session would be held Sunday to summarize what had taken place in the workshops. Workshop moderators were drawn from the staff of the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction. The moderators were instructed to remain neutral, keep the discussion moving, attempt to head off fruitless arguments and, above all, make sure each participant was given sufficient opportunity to make his opinions known.

Recorders, most of them graduate education students, were recruited from Chicago area colleges and universities. Their function was to record the groups' comments, arguments, and questions, but not participate in the discussion.

Staff members with specialized expertise, i.e. school finance and school law, functioned as resource personnel to be called upon by the groups as needed. The Superintendent assumed such a role. There were also some support personnel drawn from the office staff, although the Superintendent was careful that the conference not be dominated by his own staff, however valuable a contribution they could make on an individual basis.

Participants were assigned to workshops in such a way as to maintain a balance within each group. By design, each group was to include teachers, parents, students, businessmen, and group representatives. Individuals from the same school district or organisation were placed in different workshops. No objections were noted to this procedure, and it provided an interesting and provocative mixture of discussion in each group.

At the first general session of the conference, the impact of the number of persons willing and anxious to participate was felt. Superintendent Bakalis addressed the group pointing out that in response to the call for public involvement, the hundreds of participants present represented all social and age groups as well as educators from every corner of the State expressing "... deep and commonly shared concern for the future of our schools and the future of our children". Mr. Bakalis outlined the basic aims of the conference as follows:

- to clarify, redefine and seek some agreement on the goals and objectives of education;
- to consider the necessity of establishing and setting into motion mechanisms that will help facilitate the achievement of those goals and objectives.

The major work of the conference was conducted on the second day when forty-two workshops convened to discuss the draft document; each was assigned to begin in a different section, continue and complete as much as possible.

There were approximately 1,100 registrants participating in the proceedings. No observer could fail to note the seriousness and concern with which the participants undertook the task. Nor could he fail to observe the complete mixture of backgrounds visible in each group. There were parents, students, representatives of racial, socio-economic and linguistic groups, teachers, administrators, organisation and religious representatives, university professors, and citizens. There was no lack of heated discussion. But the prevailing attitude of the day was one of co-operation. People spoke of their concerns, but they listened as well.

Staff members had worked throughout the night to prepare summaries for the conference participants. These staff members were scheduled to make verbal presentations at the final session of the major criticisms and suggestions. Many participants who strongly advocated particular points of view apparently believed that while they had ample opportunity to express their opinions to their workshops, they had not been able to address their views to the group as a whole. Two hours before adjournment was scheduled, the pressure to be heard mounted.

First, expressions of discontent were heard in response to the results of the evaluation form, although this form recorded the opinions of the participants themselves and not those of the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction. Questions were raised as to the future of the document and what would eventually become of it, and suspicions were aired of the entire process. It could be said, however, that a general spirit of co-operation prevailed and by and large comments were to the point and constructive.

Had more time been available, an opportunity might have been provided for all opinions to be heard. However, the problem faced by the conference was a shortage of time despite its being closed, in fact, two hours beyond the scheduled closing time.

VI. THE FINAL DRAFT AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

A second draft of the document was developed as a result of the reactions and suggestions of conference participants. This document was then evaluated by members of the twelve citizens advisory councils, by various interested groups of educators and by the Legislative Conference, an advisory group composed of representatives from approximately 30 organisations which have an interest in educational issues in the State.

In order to implement the programme which Action Goals for the 1970's suggests, it was necessary for the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to examine its own internal structure. Each programme director within the office prepared a budget recommendation for his department based on the goals and priorities of the draft document.

Because many suggested action steps could be undertaken by the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction without enabling legislation, it was necessary to assure that appropriate departments be given adequate funds to carry out programmes and that the funds available go first to those programmes which were given a high priority by the people of Illinois. On this basis, the office budget for Fiscal Year 1973 was allocated. These high priority areas were:

- Redefinition of teacher certification standards;
- Redefinition of supervision and recognition standards;
- Thorough assessment of the curriculum;
- Reform of school finance.

Action Goals for the Seventies was completed with the help of staff members of the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction in March 1972. As of this writing more than 16,000 copies are in the hands of Illinois citizens.

The final document calls for new dimensions of co-operative educational planning - planning which is addressed to improving the quality of Illinois' educational enterprise. The School Governance section calls for opening the planning and decision-making process to a much wider constituency.

Several mechanisms have already been created to encourage this type of participatory planning at the local as well as the state level. New state standards for recognizing the schools require a written "School Improvement Plan" developed through broad public involvement. Rules for desegregating the schools through the development of local plans have been used. Numerous Task Forces, composed of local and state representatives have been formed to deal with many of the "action objectives" in Action Goals for the Seventies. For example, a Task Force on Teacher Certification has issued a report which calls for significant revisions in the method of certifying teachers, moving from an emphasis upon completion of formal course work to a demonstration of competencies of teaching skills, attitudes and knowledge, and calling for a process of continuing recertification based upon demonstration of competency.

The document's impact upon the planning and management of the State Office of Public Instruction has been significant. A management-by-objectives system has been established. Two strategic planning teams have been appointed to deal with the priority areas of curricular reform and competency-based certification. Through broad public involvement, legislation is currently being drafted to deal with many of the action objectives.

At no time will the work be totally complete. Quarterly public hearings will be held to review accomplishment. But, when the recommendations are translated into action and legislation, the validity of all the preceding activities will be tested. For these activities have sought to prove the belief that change can indeed occur in public institutions, and in a planned manner, in full view of, and with support from, the people of the State of Illinois.

VIII

PARTICIPATORY ASPECTS OF LOCAL EDUCATION PLANNING IN ENGLAND AND WALES

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

This paper is largely a description of participatory aspects of education planning connected with local education authorities in England and Wales. Participation has always been a distinctive feature of the educational system in England and Wales and there have been constant references over the years to the partnership in education between central and local government, the church and the state, the local partnership between members, officers and teachers in school education and between local authority and voluntary organisations in youth and community work.

Nevertheless, the education service has moved, in recent years, in company with other services, towards greater participation by more people at all levels and this paper describes the present position. It does not deal specifically with matters which, although extremely important to the education service, could in certain circumstances be dealt with outside the control of an authority not directly controlling education - such as pupil transport, meals, supplies, student health and non-teaching staff - although generally the practices which are outlined here apply equally to these matters.

Education in England and Wales is a national service, locally administered. Local government units vary in size and in powers but only the most important units are directly involved in education administration and, although these have different names, they can all be called Local Education Authorities and, for the rest of this paper, are referred to as LEAs. Local government is being reorganised in 1974 and at that time the wide variations in size between LEAs will be reduced. Mainly for historical reasons, the 162 LEAs which now exist vary greatly. They may be concentrated urban areas or large, sparsely populated rural areas. They vary in size from under 50,000 in four cases, to over 3,000,000 in the case of the Inner London Education Authority. They have a considerable degree of local autonomy and in the circumstances it must be expected that generalizations will not be universally applicable. However, all the arrangements outlined in this paper do apply in one LEA with about 600,000 population and are known to apply for the most part in many other LEAs.

II. ORIGINS

The initial "planning" of education was probably simply a reaction to need and mainly, in the early stages, undertaken by the church, or sometimes a philanthropist. Although the aims were sometimes vocational and to give instruction, the purpose sometimes seemed to be to keep children out of mischief. Later, as the state began to realize the importance of education, the first state aid was given in the form of assist-

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ance to voluntary organisations in the provision of education and, later still, when the state considered a national coverage of school education was needed - a hundred years ago - there was a gap-filling exercise by creation of locally elected boards to establish schools from local resources with central aid. This duty was taken over 30 years later by local government bodies established in the meantime on a basis of local elections for other purposes, having resources from local fund raising and assisted by central government grants. Vocational classes similarly developed with local committees in control, eligible under certain conditions for grants from national sources. The early universities were established independently of state and local government.

It is not therefore surprising, in view of the historical background, that education developed as a national system locally administered with considerable involvement of non-statutory organisations. LEAs have not acted merely as agencies of central government; they have had a considerable degree of independence. Perhaps the following illustration will make this clearer.

The chief and other officers of an LEA, as well as teachers and other staff, are appointed by the LEAs and responsible to them, not to central government. Their future is not dependent on conformity with government policy - in some cases their future might even be helped by non-conformity! Nor are they political appointments - staff are appointed virtually for life, irrespective of political change. Part of the result of this independence is that decisions made at local authority level can be, indeed often are, quite different from decisions which a central government might make about an area. Central government decisions would lead to similar levels of spending per child throughout the country on most items, whereas the most recently published figures show, for example, that the expenditure per pupil on non-teaching staff or on books and stationery can be two or three times as great in one LEA as in another and that the total expenditure per 1,000 population in the most generous authorities can be one and a half times more than in the least generous authorities.

It might be thought that this indicates that children in some areas are receiving insufficient resources because they are receiving less than the national average. We believe, however, that because of their freedom LEAs have been willing to spend money in developing new methods and that these authorities have acted as the pace setters. In many cases the results arising from this freedom of action have acted as a spur to central government and effective national planning. In the field of school building, for example, there are national policy decisions on the maximum capital investment and minimum standards. Within these limits local authorities operate freely, though each may learn from the other. We believe that local freedom has undoubtedly resulted in far better value in new school building, both educationally and financially, than could possibly have been obtained from central direction. Although the element of competition between local authorities has not been obvious it seems to have had a healthy effect.

III. PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

LEAs often act jointly through associations which, although having no power, can speak at national level on behalf of LEAs. Moreover, the agreed views of the local authority associations are often, but by no means always, accepted by individual local authorities. In some fields of activity, such as overall capital investment and teacher supply and demand, the Government must decide policy - in the economic interest of the country, for example, or to ensure that resources are available to fulfil the minimum requirements of the laws relating to education. Ministers and officers of central government regularly have discussions with representatives, elected members and/or officers, of local authority associations. Often discussions will involve suggestions about future policies or advice which might be issued. When policies have been decided, it is normal to have discussions on the drafts of circulars which will be issued, setting out decisions or advice on methods of implementation. These discussions may be at officer level or may involve both officers and elected members. National decisions affecting individual LEAs are normally made only after consultation with the LEAs, usually at officer level. Perhaps it is the close relationship between central government and LEAs directly and through local authority associations that has resulted in surprisingly few disputes between LEAs and central government. The Secretary of State for Education and Science has a reserve power to direct a LEA, when the LEA is "Acting Unreasonably". Most authorities have never been so directed and the power has hardly ever been used.

Education planning within the area of a LEA is therefore inevitably influenced by the fact that the powers of LEAs, their duties and opportunities, have often been brought about because of the participation of the LEAs in national planning. It would seem natural, therefore, for LEAs to carry on this process at the lower levels.

IV. PEOPLE MAKING LOCAL DECISIONS

Membership of the organisations making decisions within the area covered by a LEA is clearly very important. The Local Education Authority (LEA) is composed of members, most of whom have to seek public election every three years (1) and is concerned with a number of aspects of local government, although the education service is often the largest service and, indeed, sometimes much more expensive than a combination of all the other services.

The LEA must, by law, have an Education Committee, the majority of whose members are members of the Local Authority but which also includes "persons of experience in education and persons acquainted with the educational conditions prevailing in the area for which the committee acts". These additional persons are appointed by the LEA. This category will almost certainly include representatives of teachers employed by the LEA and voluntary organisations (reference is made to these groups later) but may include some from educational establishments not controlled by a LEA (perhaps a university and/or an independent school) and others from industry or those who have had particularly valuable experience elsewhere. In all cases, however, a majority of members must be members of the LEA although each of the additional members has a voting power equal to an elected member.

The Education Committee may, by law, appoint and always does appoint sub-committees to deal with particular aspects of work. Most members, and perhaps all of a sub-committee are members of the Education Committee but there may be other members who are not members of the LEA.

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1. After 1974 all members will seek election every four years.

Within the LEA decisions are made at different levels. The LEA itself makes the most important policy decisions, although there is a legal requirement that every LEA "shall before exercising any of the functions with respect to education" consider a report from an education committee. The Education Committee makes most policy decisions, normally on the advice of sub-committees concerned with particular aspects of education. The sub-committees will often make important decisions and some functions will be delegated to officers.

Although the LEA has overall control, including financial control, many decisions are, however, made on a more local level. Generally each school, college or other educational establishment will have a controlling committee, often called a Governing Body, the members of which will be concerned with the running of the education service within that establishment. (There is at present, in some areas, an intermediate level of control between the Education Committee and its sub-committees and governing bodies, but no further reference will be made to this intermediate control because it will vanish in 1974.)

The governing bodies of educational establishments have a membership which varies considerably. There are a few governing bodies entirely composed of members of the LEA or its Education Committee. At the other extreme, there are governing bodies with no members who are members of the LEA. The LEA does, however, normally, through its Education Committee, appoint some proportion of the members of the governing bodies. The proportions need not be detailed since they vary considerably and often depend on certain legal requirements.

Clearly, therefore, the opportunities for being a member of a committee directly involved at some level in education planning are considerable and it is obvious that those who are not committee members can talk to the large number who are and attempt to influence their actions.

The opportunities for individuals to participate in education planning can be considered under the following headings:

Elected Members
Teachers
Representatives of Voluntary Organisations
Parents
Students
Others.

V. LOCALLY ELECTED MEMBERS

For the purposes of this paper local authorities can be divided into two groups, viz. those which have a direct control of some education and those which have no such direct control. Members of the latter group may be elected to authorities which nominate representatives as members of governing bodies or advisory committees. A member in this category may, therefore, almost by accident, become involved in education planning. He will, however, be in a position similar to any other non-LEA member and, because of his background, may well provide very useful expertise for a committee. There is, therefore, no reason to give special consideration to his contribution to education planning.

Clearly those who are elected locally to the authorities which are the local controllers of the education service (i.e. the LEAs) can and do play a major part in education planning. The LEA, however, controls not only education services but also many other activities, such as general planning, highways, social services, and, at present, some aspects of health. Although the elected member may have education as a main interest, it could be that he has very little interest in education. Each LEA must, by law, have an Education Committee and the LEA may delegate any or all of its work to the Education Committee, other than the power to raise money to pay for the service.

Many members of a LEA, probably a majority, are not members of the Education Committee and are, therefore, only directly involved in education at LEA level by helping to decide the membership of the Education Committee and by giving overall approval to the expenditure needed to run the education service. In taking these decisions, however, any member is bound to become involved in policies related to education planning. He is certain to be involved indirectly in many other ways. He is the channel of questions, comment or criticism from people in the area he represents and he may be able to exert a very considerable influence on other members of the LEA who are more directly involved in education. Although not a member of the Education Committee, he may be appointed by the Education Committee as a member, representing the LEA, of the governing body of one or more educational establishments in his own area. He may represent the LEA, on the governing body of a voluntary organisation covering his area. He may be asked for advice on any educational matter affecting his area, particularly the appointment of other members of governing bodies. It will be apparent, therefore, that even though an elected member is not a member of the Education Committee and, perhaps, on his election, not particularly interested in education, he may play a considerable part in influencing educational policies because of his voting powers or as a member of the LEA, the knowledge he gains from involvement in his own area and by his contacts with other members. Moreover, as his experience increases because of the inevitable meetings with members, officers and teachers more directly involved in education, his influence on education, particularly through his contribution on financial and major policy matters, is likely to increase.

The members of the LEA who are the members of the Education Committee are those who, in the local situation, exert most influence. It must be repeated that "local" in the sense of LEA can be confusing to those who do not live in England, since a "local" education authority can be responsible for a population varying from under 50,000 to 3,000,000 (and, even after reform in 1974, outside the London area, from under 200,000 to 1,400,000).

The work of an Education Committee is so great that normally many of the decisions are dealt with in sub-committees, each of which is concerned with some major aspect of work - such as schools, post-school education, sites and buildings, finance - and it is in these sub-committees that the member makes his major contribution to education planning. At each stage he works with the members who have been appointed because they are "persons of experience in education and persons acquainted with the educational conditions prevailing in the area" and with the permanent officials of the education authority.

The relations between members and officials could well be the subject of a separate paper. They vary from one authority to another. It is sometimes argued that members are responsible for policy and officers for the execution of the policy. This is far too simple an approach. Undoubtedly members, and only members, have the power to decide on major matters of policy because only they have a vote and they decide what powers and duties should be delegated to officers. The most effective planning takes place where there are a good working relationship and understanding between members (especially chairmen) and officers. Most plans evolve as a result of this relationship. Consequently officers' advice is normally based on what is possible and is often accepted, perhaps with small modifications. Acceptance or rejection of advice in these circumstances is unlikely to lead to bad feeling and policies can normally be readily implemented by officers who have considered, and usually advised on, any problems of policy implementation in advance.

A member of the Education Committee has to do much more than merely be a member of the Committee and one or more of the education sub-committees. He is involved in discussions with other members of the local authority and with those they represent. He may be a member of governing bodies of some educational establishments. He may represent the local authority on voluntary organisations, especially those receiving financial help from public funds. Some members represent their LEA on joint planning ventures with other local authorities, or on some national inter-authority or other organisations. In most of what they do they aid the processes of education planning through two-way communications of ideas. The members of the Education Committee are the laymen with the greatest influence on local authority policies and plans within the nationally approved policies. The only part of the education service in England and Wales in which they have no part - and never seek it - is in relation to curriculum of schools and colleges. This is always considered to be a matter for professional decision.

VI. TEACHERS

The involvement of teachers in educational planning is accepted by most people as a sine qua non. Teachers are involved through their representatives at national level in very similar ways to the involvement of LEA representatives although, undoubtedly, to the LEA members finance assumes a large role and to the teacher member anything which affects educational practice or opportunities for curricular change will loom large. Teachers cannot be members of the LEA which employs them and therefore cannot, for example, have any representative vote on major financial questions. Each Education Committee, however, does have a few teacher members. These members are nominated by the teachers themselves and have complete freedom to speak and vote as they wish. Although they are few in number, their contribution is usually extremely valuable. Teacher members of committees are able to make other members more aware of the problems and opportunities in education. At the same time they aid communications between the members and teachers generally by giving their teacher colleagues first hand accounts of what is happening, what is proposed, and why, and seeking their views on future planning.

Sometimes Education Committees have, in addition, joint consultative or advisory committees to allow for wider teacher representation and to give greater opportunities for teachers to discuss plans and problems at length with some members of the Committee. Officers of LEAs have regular meetings with teacher representatives, with heads of educational establishments and with selected teachers depending on the nature of the problems to be discussed - whether they affect, for example, the whole of an authority's area, an individual school or college, or a particular aspect of subject teaching. Before LEAs introduce new arrangements affecting their educational establishments they normally have consultation with representatives of the teachers. In practice this does not seem to take any power of decision from the LEA but generally seems to lead to more acceptable decisions (partly because of greater understanding) and to facilitate the implementation of decisions. It is possible that the greater understanding of teachers leads, because of their close contact with parents, to a greater understanding by parents and the general public.

Traditionally the government of establishments other than universities has rested with governing bodies having a membership which has not included teachers. The practice is changing. Gradually colleges of further and higher education have included teachers amongst the members of the governing body (including the principal ex-officio). Additionally, teachers' views are now expressed more formally to governing bodies from academic boards, each constituted so as to include some senior staff appointed because of the posts they hold and others elected from the remainder of the staff. Academic planning has, therefore, become largely a matter of joint planning - and often decision - and academic staff have more opportunities to express opinions on all other aspects of planning related to individual establishments. The teachers also have representatives on committees, whether advisory or executive, which are concerned with planning for needs of wider areas which may affect their own establishment.

Similar arrangements for schools have not yet developed in most areas partly, probably, because of the present law about governing bodies. In some cases, however, particularly in some large schools, a more formal academic structure seems to be developing. The head teacher's pre-eminence has been giving way to team leadership, and the place of individual staff in school planning has been considerably strengthened. The head of the school is present at governing body meetings and, although not formally a member of the governing body and, therefore, without a vote, he will usually have a strong influence on decisions. It is unusual for a member of the teaching staff of a school, other than the head, to attend governing body meetings although there are signs that this practice may change. It is increasingly common, however, for agreed staff views to be reported to Governors.

In relation to curriculum and examinations the participation of teachers is paramount. A large volume of research and development connected with the curriculum is funded jointly by central and local government but is the responsibility of an organisation which, although having central and local government representatives, has teachers in the majority on the controlling body. Examinations, too, are largely teacher controlled and an interesting relatively recent development has been the advent of an additional examination at the age of 16, the Certificate of Secondary Education. This certificate has nationally recognized standards and teacher control at regional level. It is operated solely by teachers on a local basis and sometimes with examination syllabuses approved for individual schools by the regional organisations. In spite of teacher control the finance is provided almost entirely by the LEAs.

VII. THE CHURCHES

The churches have been the foremost amongst the voluntary organisations in school work and have always taken an active part in education planning. Indeed, the first state involvement in education was by means of grants towards education provided largely in association with the churches. The churches' role in education is often recognized by having three representatives on the LEA Education Committee - one each from the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church and a third member representing the other Churches.

Many schools and some colleges were founded by one of the churches, although the proportion of all schools which denominations are able to support financially is decreasing. The partnership between state (including local government) and the churches is a complicated one and the present methods of operating joint activities have often evolved because of many years of discussion and a succession of compromises. The arrangements for some church-established schools include governing bodies having two-thirds of the members appointed by a church. The church then contributes a relatively small proportion (perhaps less than 20%) of initial and maintenance costs of buildings and appoints teaching staff who are paid by the LEA, which also pays the whole of the remainder of the costs of running these schools. In these circumstances the need for close collaboration in planning between the LEA and the Church is self-evident.

The teaching of religious education can lead to strong differences of opinion and since, by law, there must be religious education in every school, it is natural that representatives of the churches play their part in discussions about syllabuses of religious education which can be used in non-church schools. In post-school education the churches have continued a traditional role in teacher training and this necessitates collaboration at both national and local levels. In other post-school activities the place of the churches is not significantly different from any other voluntary organisations.

VIII. VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

Voluntary organisations have played a large part in the development of English education. However, as education has become more expensive, the voluntary organisations have been forced to assume relatively smaller roles in initiating new developments. There seem to be voluntary organisations concerned with almost every aspect of education and, indeed, a large number of voluntary organisations whose main purposes are not educational have education sections. Many organisations want to be entirely independent. Others would like to be independent but perhaps financial or manpower problems are too great. Others believe they may be able to provide a better service to the community in association with a LEA than could be provided by the voluntary organisations or the LEA acting independently. Here there may be examples of overlap in provision and, although some overlap may be justified, it is usually accepted that joint planning will lead to more effective use of resources. A common practice is for voluntary organisations in a particular field to link together (e. g. most areas have what is termed a "Standing Conference of Voluntary Youth Organisations") and for the resulting organisation to have links with the LEA. These links may be formal. For example, members of such a Standing Conference may serve on a County Youth Sub-Committee of the Education Committee and/or members of a County Youth Committee on the Standing Conference, or joint working parties may be established concerned with particular problems such as planning of new buildings. Often the informal contacts between members and officers of LEAs and voluntary organisations are just as important.

LEAs recognize the value of voluntary organisations. They often pay or help to pay salaries of officials of the organisations; they may provide or contribute towards the cost of sites or accommodation for the organisations; they jointly finance buildings; and they provide free lectures on a variety of topics. Joint planning in the provision of facilities for youth and community, the arts, recreation and leisure is now accepted as the only sensible way forward. Usually the only limitation on the range of these activities is that LEAs do not contribute to an activity whose sole purpose is to aid a political party or the members of a particular church.

Educational problems related to handicap and social deprivation are sometimes solved by a combination of statutory and non-statutory organisations. Statutory organisations may be regarded by some with a degree of suspicion which is not directed at a voluntary organisation. Voluntary effort of all kinds is more readily given to a voluntary organisation than to a statutory organisation and there have been many examples of joint action which have produced results much more quickly than seemed practical to a LEA; In some cases schools for particular kinds of handicap have been built by voluntary organisations and then handed over free of charge to a local authority to maintain. In other cases additional facilities to supplement those provided by a LEA have been provided by a voluntary organisation.

Joint activities between LEAs and voluntary organisations have always been part of the educational scene. The combination of increased demand for facilities of all kinds, accompanied by limitation of finance for both LEAs and voluntary organisations, demands joint planning in order to maximize the value of resources. It seems, therefore, that the relationships, which in the past have been close, will in future be closer.

IX. PARENTS

Until recently the involvement of parents, as parents, in education planning has been very small. This is not to say that parents have not influenced schools. Many schools have parent-teacher associations, although it is not always at these schools that there is the closest relationship between parents and teachers. Many of the activities of these associations have, for the teachers, centred on communication to the parents and, for the parents, related most often to the raising of funds to help with the provision of some facility which may not be provided, or wholly provided, out of public funds. There is, however, in the associations a natural two-way flow of ideas and information additional to that which arises from the necessary contact between teacher and parent about an individual child.

Parents, perhaps because they are now better educated, are taking much more interest in what is happening in school, what is happening outside the school and which might affect the school, and particularly in the new buildings that may be needed, and are more articulate in making their views known. The evidence sometimes appears in the form of pressure groups relating to particular activities, such as pre-school provision or school organisation. In the field of pre-school education, however, parents have been playing a very important part in establishing voluntary groups to run activities which, in some cases, have not differed greatly in opportunities from those given in a nursery school (when this can be organised by the LEA). Their positive approach in this field has undoubtedly created a climate of opinion which is much more favourable to statutory provision for pre-school education.

It is quite a common practice for LEAs to arrange for meetings of parents to talk about existing practices and seek views on organisational changes. Head teachers arrange parents' meetings to talk about changes within school. Because of active interest and improved communication between parents and local authorities and schools, it is clear that parents are becoming better informed and with better organisation they will almost certainly be able to play an even more positive part in planning.

Many members of local authorities and voluntary organisations are themselves parents. There are those who believe that parents should be appointed to organisations controlling education, especially to governing bodies, simply because they are parents and for no other reason. Others seem to be doubtful about the reasons for which parents could be appointed, about their usefulness, partly in view of the short time for which they may be eligible for membership, and whether methods of election would produce good representation. It is interesting to notice that, in one large area, more than half the school governing bodies include members who, though not appointed as parents, are parents of children attending the school.

For many years parents have had certain duties and rights in relation to the education of their own children. Parental views have, however, been increasingly taken into account by LEAs. This trend was emphasized most clearly by a short circular on secondary school organisation which the then Secretary of State issued in 1970 when a new Government came to power. It included the following, "Full opportunities should be given to parents to make their views known before decisions are reached". This is easier said than done properly. In one LEA with 600,000 people, for example, parents of 110,000 children in school may be affected and parents of more than 50,000 children not yet attending school might wish to express a view. In order that parents can make their views known on proposals they must be told what the proposals are. Press notices and public meetings are methods of communication that may be considered by some to be insufficient. On the other hand, written statements can convey only a limited number of arguments and do not deal with questions. Views expressed in correspondence are often difficult to summarize and may only reflect the views of a minority. On the other hand, not all proposals will lend themselves to a simple Yes/No questionnaire. Real participation by all parents on general policies is tried but the problems are considerable. It is interesting, however, to note a Government view that, even when elected members make decisions, it is necessary to take special action to seek the views of a specific part of the electorate.

X. STUDENTS

One of the recent changes in participation in education planning has been the involvement of students. Although it is too early to say whether the original hopes have been justified, it is perhaps not too early to say that the worst of the original fears have not been realized. Students are now represented on most governing bodies of higher education establishments and on most of their sub-committees. Their contributions have varied greatly from one establishment to another and one committee to another. Students in England and Wales are likely to be members of a college only for a relatively short time and it is not easy to make a valuable contribution to planning without breadth and length of experience. Although students have been anxious to play a positive part in planning, it is perhaps not so much in the fields of planning but in those of understanding and improved communication that student involvement seems to have shown the best results.

However, the understanding of the student's point of view, most often from joint meetings of staff and student representatives or governor and student representatives, undoubtedly affects the approach of staff and governors to planning. At the same time the students' greater understanding of the attitudes of staff and governors and the constraints under which they and LEAs operate can facilitate a positive approach to joint effort. Perhaps it is because student involvement at local level is relatively new that its results are, more often than not, apparent in smaller matters although, since national decisions may often be made after consultation with student representatives at national level, it could be that the climate of higher education is more influenced by students' views than is always apparent. Up to the present, however, only a minority of students seem to desire involvement in education planning. Perhaps they feel they can always show their support or rejection of courses by attendance or absence! Even in post-experience and adult education courses it is not always easy to persuade students to feed back opinions about courses in order to aid subsequent planning.

At school level, student involvement in planning has been almost non-existent. Representatives of students at various levels may occasionally meet head teachers and some staff in a more formal way to add to informal contacts. The apparent results may be limited to minor changes in school rules and some improved understanding. The real results cannot be readily assessed but will arise because of improved understanding, or perhaps frustration, which may slowly change the general approach of heads, teachers and pupils.

XI. OTHERS

Only rarely, except by voting, do individual members of the general public become directly involved as individuals in education planning and then, more often than not, in a negative way. Those not normally concerned with education may well have very strong views about the siting of new educational buildings. Proposals to change the character of a school or establish a new one must be published and "any ten local electors" can object to the Secretary of State, who has power to decide whether or not to approve the proposals.

The biggest influence is clearly in the election of representatives in national or local government. Educational policies are unlikely to be a predominating factor. Nevertheless elected members must inevitably be conscious of their position, particularly when they are agreeing to add to or reduce expenditure on education. The influence of the general public on elected members, national and local, is always present but can rarely be assessed.

Particular organisations may have an effective influence on educational planning. Universities have not been discussed in this paper because LEAs are not directly involved in their government. Nevertheless, the influence of universities on school and non-university post-school education is considerable. In some fields of activity, e. g. education of teachers, the relationship between university and LEA can be very close. Joint discussion on some other matters is necessary because LEAs support financially a high proportion of university students. Many universities have a major programme of general adult education, and joint planning with LEAs and voluntary organisations in this field is needed to avoid unnecessary overlap. It seems to many, however, that there has been insufficient joint planning in higher education in the past and some steps are being taken to overcome this deficiency.

The involvement of industry in many parts of post-school education is accepted as being necessary to its success. Indeed, the raison d'être for some of the post-school education, especially in the field of part-time education, is the needs of industry and its employees. The planning for post-school education involves industrial representatives at national, regional, LEA, Education Committee and college level. Advice on likely requirements for initial and post-experience courses for employees is obviously needed but it is by joint planning that short-term and long-term requirements of this kind can be linked to the wishes and needs of individuals for their own long-term development. Some courses may be divided between the college and industry and commerce and the need for close collaboration in the development of such courses as well as their operation is evident. Similarly, training within industry must be related to associated further education, and organisations concerned with industrial training normally look to LEAs for advice and co-operation in planning. Increasingly those concerned with post-school education and training for employees are realizing how essential it is to plan jointly in order to maximize the value of resources.

Finally, there are the many specialist groups in society who may be particularly interested in some aspect of educational policy. Their needs are special - e. g. a professional association concerned about the courses provided for their members, a group of people interested in the treatment of some handicap, the provision of a children's play area or the sponsorship of some artistic development. Usually their interests are dealt with on an ad hoc basis. Nevertheless the LEA tries to ensure that representatives of such specialist interests have ample opportunities to express their views and contribute their expertise to planning discussions.

XII. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This, then, gives an impression of present practice in LEAs in England and Wales. Participation is now practised more widely than formerly and it is perhaps not surprising that, as participation has increased, so the demand for more participation has spread. But not in all ways. More people are asking to participate, but some who have become involved in differing aspects of education planning have been disillusioned. To some, participation before the event implied decision making and power and, in the event, seems to have resulted in greater frustration and little change or discernible alteration in the real centre of power. In some cases wider participation has understandably led to wiser decisions. Other decisions which seem to have been unaffected by wider participation have sometimes been more readily accepted because of greater understanding. Sometimes, however, they have been less palatable because the participants' initial public stances on propositions have made it almost impossible for them to change their publicly expressed views without unacceptable loss of face. Moreover, the participation processes are time-consuming. Indeed, on some issues, cynics have suggested that participation is planned deferment.

The head of one of the largest departments of management studies in any LEA establishment recently said that, since his staff had begun to participate fully in the management of the establishment, he estimated that, on average, they spent one quarter less time in contact with students. He wondered whether the students, the industries from which they come and the nation as a whole were benefiting or losing from the changes. It may be unfortunate that participation in education planning, as with so many other aspects of education, cannot be properly evaluated with the aid of cost-benefit analysis techniques. That participation involves more time and money can hardly be questioned. Many of the effects are not, however, measurable.

We have occasionally experienced excesses which seem to have been brought about by a fashion for individuals and institutions to flagellate themselves in intensive and sometimes destructive introspection often in the name of participation or involvement. This is understandable. Education in many ways reflects the attitudes of society and society is at times uneasy and finds it difficult to define its objectives. To most people any form of dictatorship is abhorrent and perhaps it is the fear of dictatorship which causes some to interpret decisiveness as dictation and any form of planned organisation as inhuman bureaucracy.

It is clear, however, that participation must never be defined as a right of taking part continuously in decision making. This may have been possible in Greek city states but now that communities are larger, more complex, more specialized and containing so many overlapping social and interest groups it is simply not practical. Participation must never become an excuse for indecision.

It is natural that one of the results of improved education and one of the effects of the influence of the mass media has been the desire for greater participation. The needs for improved two-way communication have been obvious. The participatory practices which have developed and are being developed in LEAs are helping to satisfy these desires and needs. More important, they are helping to ensure the reality of a fundamental requirement of our democracy, viz. the accountability of elected representatives to the electorate.

IX

RESEARCH FINDINGS IN SCHOOL DEMOCRACY IN SWEDEN

by

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I. OUTLINE OF THE SWEDISH SCHOOL SYSTEM

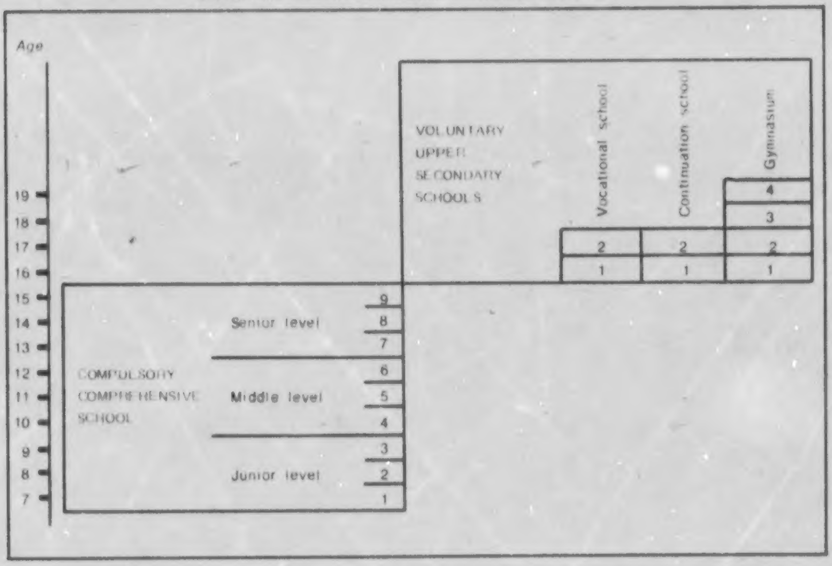
Sweden has a 9-year compulsory school, divided into three stages. Children start school the year of their seventh birthday and leave the year of their sixteenth birthday (Fig. 1). During the first six grades each class has one teacher who teaches most subjects, and all pupils study the same subjects for the same number of periods per week.

Every year about 85% of the sixteen-year-olds choose to continue their education immediately after finishing the 9-year compulsory school. They can go on to one of three forms of the upper secondary school, the gymnasium, continuation school or vocational school. For both the compulsory and the upper secondary school, there is a general curriculum that applies to all schools in Sweden.

The 9-year compulsory school was introduced in Sweden in 1962. The first curriculum recommended democratic forms of work in rather vague terms, but in the autumn term of 1970 a new, or rather revised, curriculum came into force in which the democratic aspects are more clearly presented and explained.

Figure 1

DIAGRAM OF THE SWEDISH SCHOOL SYSTEM


Age
19
18
17
16
15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
VOLUNTARY
UPPER
SECONDARY
SCHOOLS
Vocational school
Continuation school
Gymnasium
4
3
2
1
COMPULSORY
COMPREHENSIVE
SCHOOL
Senior level
Middle level
Junior level
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1

II. CURRENT INTEREST IN SCHOOL DEMOCRACY IN SWEDEN

During the latter years of the 1960's, both Sweden and other countries experienced a number of student demonstrations that were partly directed against what was, in the opinion of the students, a too rigid degree of control both within the educational sector and in society as a whole.

In Sweden, strikes among the teaching staff also occurred at this time, as a result of which the pupils suddenly found themselves placed in situations that made great demands on their ability to take responsibility and to plan and which showed both that the pupils could sometimes make surprisingly mature contributions and that, naturally, many felt at a loss and found it difficult to take any initiatives.

The Swedish mass media conducted a lively debate for and against a democratization of the various educational establishments and in May 1968 it was noted in the minutes of the Council of State that the school should "by means of its forms of work and its organisation function as a democratic society". During the spring of 1968 this positive attitude towards increased school democracy also manifested itself in the appointment of a fact-finding group within the National Board of Education with the task of "elucidating needs, possibilities and forms of co-operation in schools".

It was also at this point that the research project "Student democracy and co-planning at different educational levels" was started, under the leadership of Professor Åke Bjerstedt. The main results of the project are presented in this paper.

Some direct experimental activities were also initiated in various schools at this time by specially interested teachers and headmasters. It might perhaps be said that the publication of the new curriculum for the comprehensive school in 1969 marked the zenith of the interest in school democracy. The curriculum states explicitly: "The school is to lay the foundation of and further develop those qualities of the pupils that can maintain and reinforce the democratic principles of tolerance, co-operation and equality of rights among people".

A review of headlines containing the word "democracy" in the journal of the Swedish Union of Teachers gives a rather clear picture of how the question of school democracy developed in Sweden during the years 1967-1970. The number of headlines in the journal containing the word "democracy" shows that the debate increased in fervour during 1968, continued likewise in 1969 and then subsided to the original state of affairs in 1970. The storm of discussion within the mass media died down during 1970 and so did many of the activities that had started up earlier in the area of school democracy.

Many of the practical experiments in the schools that had arisen spontaneously were discontinued, sometimes with no follow-up or evaluation. The National Board of Education's fact-finding group concluded its activities in the spring of 1971 and the project on student democracy was completed in 1972.

III. PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The main aims of the project have been formulated thus:

- to chart pointwise characteristic patterns of interaction, attitudes and opinions, linked with existent forms of student co-action at different educational levels;
- to study the relation between attitudes and opinions on the one hand and certain environmental and individual variables on the other;
- to investigate features of the process of innovation, when new procedures for co-planning are introduced; and
- to try to give, on the basis of surveys and innovation studies, some recommendations for future development.

The work of the project was divided up into three main sections. One dealt with school democracy in grades 1-6 of the comprehensive school (Part I). Another took up corresponding questions in grades 7-9 and in upper secondary schools (Part II). The third section studied problems concerning student democracy within post-gymnasial educational establishments with particular emphasis on the teacher-training sector (Part III). Magnhild Wetterström was responsible for Part I, Birgitte and Lars Valind for Part II and Pekka Idman for Part III.

We wish in the present review to summarize a few of the main features of the results obtained which have already been reported in more detail in a series of separate research reports on which this account is based. (1) In this we have found it natural to restrict ourselves mainly to Parts I and II, that is, the school system below university level.

Data have been collected mainly by means of questionnaires, but attitude schedules, interviews, sociometric tests, personality tests and minutes from meetings have also been used. The statistical treatment has, apart from purely descriptive measurements and non-parametric methods, consisted of analysis of variance and factor analysis.

IV. PROBLEM AREAS

The day-to-day work of those who are active in schools falls into two main categories:

i) activities involving the whole school and
ii) activities involving the individual class.

Teachers are involved in both these situations, but their role varies: in the one situation they are subordinates (in relation to the headmaster), while in the other they have a superior role (in relation to pupils). Arguments for increased influence for each individual in the school sector imply a lesser degree of influence for headmasters. For the pupils it implies increased influence, while for the teacher it means increased influence in situation (i) and decreased in situation (ii).

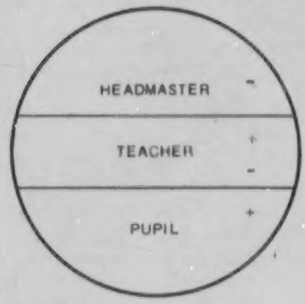
In somewhat bold terms the situation can be described thus.

---

1. Reports written by B. Almhed, P. Räikkönen, A. Bjerstedt, P. Idman, B. Valind, L. Valind, and M. Wetterström. These reports, with the exception of one, are published in the Swedish language. A bibliography is available upon request from the OECD Secretariat.

Figure 2

REDISTRIBUTION OF DECISION-MAKING
AS A RESULT OF THE DEVELOPMENT
OF DEMOCRATIC FORMS
OF WORK WITHIN AN SCHOOL UNIT



It is not surprising that a goal which can have, or can be felt to have, such consequences for some of the parties involved is given a mixed reception.

From the point of view of social psychology, it is probable that the role/job held by the individual within a system also influences his experience of how different decision-making processes function. If the school is to aim at achieving a change in the forms of work to make them more democratic, a survey of the attitudes and experiences of the parties concerned with regard to the decision-making processes existent today should constitute the first step of such a development. Gathering information on the extent to which one wishes to change the decision-making processes and in what areas, together with whether the parties concerned are agreed on these points, then follows as a natural second step.

At the higher school levels, student influence is organised on the basis of an indirect system of representation. Therefore when the school is to go through a process of democratization, the system of representation and, in particular, the pupils' representation in various bodies will have an important part to play. Natural questions that have then arisen in this context have been: How does the interplay between the pupils and their representatives in these bodies function? What attitudes do the pupils have towards their representatives and the work they do in the various bodies? What changes do the pupils consider important with regard to both the forms of pupil representation on these bodies and the areas in which these bodies are empowered to act?

V. RESEARCH FINDINGS

A. Part I. Grades 1-6 of the Comprehensive School

None of the special committees or bodies for pupil co-influence that are to be found at the higher school levels exist in grades 1-6 of the comprehensive school. The pupils at this level are left to rely on asserting direct influence on the teachers' decision-making. A relatively homogeneous assessment of the pupils' chance of exerting influence within the class in these grades has been given by headmasters, supervisory teachers and various teacher groups. In their assessment the students have about 40%, contra teachers 60%, chance of influencing the decisions within the class on questions concerning amenities, about 30% with regard to disciplinary questions, 10% in questions concerning the teaching and 45% with regard to recreational activities.

Thus the students' influence on various aspects of school-life is thought to be greatest in questions concerning recreational activities and then, ranked in descending order, in questions concerning amenities, discipline and teaching. It should be remembered that the different areas cannot be considered to have the same degree of importance, since teaching occupies a far larger portion of the daily work than, for example, recreational activities. An interesting point in this context is that a follow-up of one of the most far-reaching experiments in extended school democracy in grades 1-6 in Sweden, conducted at Eiraskolan in Stockholm, showed that despite the fact that the students had in the view of their teachers been given considerably more influence, varying between 70% and 30% in the aspects named above, this had been distributed among the decision areas in such a way that they retained the same ranking as before.

Furthermore, it was found that the stated degree of desired change in the distribution of influence in the class does not noticeably vary between the different aspects, even though these vary with regard to the present degree of pupil influence. On this point it has emerged that no less than 67% of the teacher group consider that the pupil influence is "all right as it is", with regard to both planning and decision-making.. It is interesting to discover that an exactly equal percentage of the teachers at Eiraskolan also consider that things are all right as they stand, despite the fact that there is a much greater degree of student influence at their school. Thus we can here recognize the tendency to accept and favour status quo, irrespective of what it is, and a general resistance to change. The teachers at Eiraskolan, who have much greater practical experience of democratic forms of work at school, have no desire to return to the old order; on the contrary, they are to the same extent as teachers at ordinary schools in favour of a development towards greater school democracy.

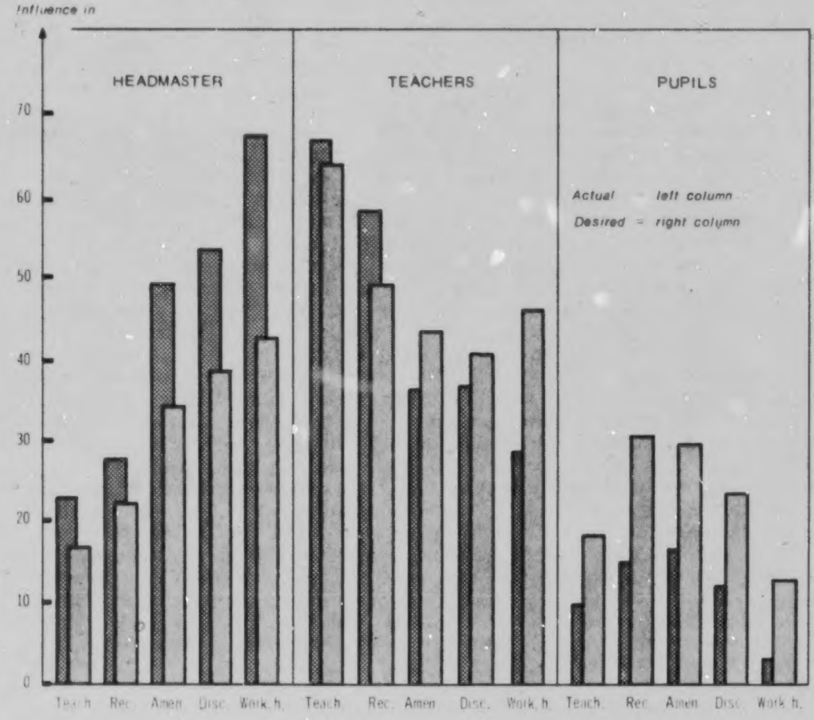
As far as the distribution of influence within the school as a unit is concerned, Figure 3 illustrates what the teachers think about both the actual and the desired distribution of influence.

According to the teacher group, the principal should have less to say in all aspects of school life, although the reduction should be in proportion to the existing amount of influence. The teachers themselves should have some reduction in the aspects where they personally feel that they have the greatest influence (i. e. teaching and recreational activities), while in the other aspects they should have increased influence, above all in questions concerning working hours. They wish the pupils to have greater influence in all aspects. It can therefore be said that the teacher group has outlined an ideal situation in which the headmaster has less influence, the pupils more and they themselves largely maintain their present position.

There is on the whole an amazing unanimity about how influence should be divided within the school. All those concerned are relatively agreed on the picture of the desired distribution of influence (Table 1).

Figure 3

DISTRIBUTION OF INFLUENCE IN DECISION-MAKING AMONG HEADMASTER, TEACHERS, AND PUPILS, AS VIEWED BY TEACHER GROUP (ACTUAL AND DESIRED)



Note: The columns represent the mean values of the respondents' assessments.

Figure 4

ACTUAL DISTRIBUTION OF INFLUENCE IN SCHOOL AS VIEWED BY TEACHERS AND HEADMASTERS GROUPS

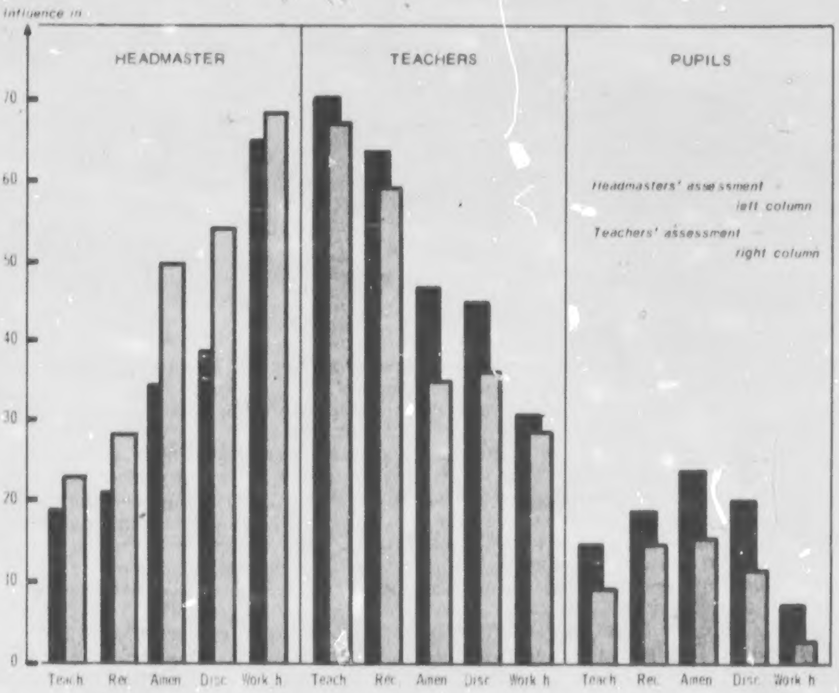


Table 1. DESIRED DISTRIBUTION OF INFLUENCE WITHIN THE SCHOOL

Percentage

	AMENITIES	DISCIPLINE	HOURS OF WORK	TEACHING METHODS	RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES
Headmaster	25-30	25-35	30-40	10-20	10-20
Teachers	+30-40	+30-40	+35-45	+50-60	+35-45
Pupils	+20-30	+15-25	+ 5-15	+10-20	+20-30
	= 100	= 100	= 100	= 100	= 100

This harmonious picture is, however, broken by what the groups think of the present distribution of influence. Figure 4 shows, as an example of this, the teacher group's opinion compared to the headmaster group's.

When comparing the answers received from the headmasters and the teachers, we can see that the teachers have consistently given the headmasters a greater degree of influence than the headmasters themselves have done. In the same way the teachers have consistently stated that their own influence is less. Each of the two groups feel that the influence of the other group is greater than that group itself feels it to be. Each underestimates its own influence and/or overestimates that of the other.

Another consistent difference is that the teachers have stated that the pupils' influence is less in all aspects than the headmasters say it is. Thus, the amount of change required to achieve the "ideal" situation seems to be different for the different groups studied. As far as the influence of the headmasters and the pupils is concerned, all the groups agree that a reduction and increase respectively is desirable, but they do not agree about the amount of change. Opinions are divided as to whether the teachers should have more or less influence and how great the change should be.

When the teachers' answers to these questions were treated by factor analysis, it emerged that the assessment of the existent or desired influence of one's own category is, in those cases when one's own category is in a subordinate position, more complex than other assessments, in so far as it does not in the same way reflect the individual's more general attitude to school democracy.

But what is the opinion of the pupils in grades 1-6 themselves? According to the pupils, they have about 30% influence over the decisions made by the teacher in the classroom, but they consider that the ideal division of influence should be 60%/40% for teacher and pupils respectively. Sex differences have emerged in that the boys have, to a greater extent, marked alternatives such as "want to have much more of a say" while the girls have been content with "want a little more of a say". There are also differences among the individual pupils' in that some consistently overestimate the domination of the teacher, while others consistently underestimate it.

By means of repeated measurements and data from several groups of teachers and pupils a scale has been obtained of different types of decision-making situations in the classroom. Thus there are decision-making situations that are characterized by a degree of pupil influence that is high from the start, increases as the grades get higher and shows during this time (2 years) a development towards increased pupil influence in all classes. Examples of this type of situation are "To decide what is to be done in the "fun hour" and "To decide how a piece of group work is to be reported". A decision-making situation of the opposite type is, for example, "To decide what is to be done at the morning assembly". These situations are characterized by a large degree of teacher domination from the very lowest grades and with very little increase in pupil influence from grade to grade or over the period of time involved here.

B. Part II. Grades 7-9 of the Comprehensive School and Upper Secondary Schools

The Students' Council represents one form of pupils' co-influence in grades 7-9 of the comprehensive school and upper secondary schools. At each school the pupils in each class choose two representatives for the Students' Council which, in its turn, chooses a committee. The students' councils are usually members of SECO, the Swedish Union of Secondary School Students that was formed in 1952. The purpose of student council activities has been expressed in the curriculum as follows: "to contribute in different ways to creating a pleasant atmosphere and a more positive attitude to the school and school work".

Studies made within the project have shown that the pupils' attitude to and interest in the Students'Council are rather positive. The results also indicate that the pupils have a clearly positive attitude towards their class representatives. Both teachers and pupils state that it is the pupil who is popular with his classmates who is chosen as the representative. The exceptions from this positive view are the information given by the class representatives and the questions of whether the representatives stand more for their own opinions than for those of the class. In some respects the pupils have a more positive attitude to student council activities in grades 7-9 of the comprehensive school than in the upper secondary schools.

Another co-operation body is the co-operation committee, consisting of representatives for teachers, pupils, other staff and the headmaster. According to the school statute, the main tasks of the co-operation committee are to deal with questions concerning amenities and discipline, to see that the internal co-operation in the school works, to co-operate with officials outside the school and to comment on reports and circulars sent by, for example, the local education authority. The frequency of the meetings varies from a few times per month to a few times per term. The results of studies made of this committee have consistently shown that at least among the pupils it has not become established in the way that was intended. Considerably more than half of the pupils have stated that the information about this committee and its activities is insufficient and only a very small percentage of the pupils contact their representative in order to have something put forward to the committee. The most important task of the co-operation committee is felt to be dealing with questions involving amenities.

The third and last organ of co-influence for the pupils are subject conferences. According to the school statute, these conferences are to deal mainly with planning the syllabuses for the different grades in a subject, the books to be used, teaching aids and the arrangement of the material.

The same applies to this committee as to the previous one: the majority of the pupils state that they have never contacted their subject representatives to take up problems that they considered important. About half the pupils in the gymnasium state that the information from this committee is insufficient. The task of the subject conferences that the pupils feel to be most important is the ordering of textbooks.

To summarize the following trends can be said to have emerged with regard to these three bodies. In general the pupils know comparatively little about the co-influence bodies that exist in the schools; they know most about the Students' Council. The Students' Council, which consists only of pupils, seems to be the body that is most firmly established among the pupils, where suggestions from individual pupils most often and most easily are put forward. The information from this body to the individual pupil also seems to function better than in the other two committees mentioned, even if it is not completely satisfactory. The information from the other two bodies has been said to be clearly unsatisfactory.

It has also been shown that the younger the pupils, the greater their confidence in the opportunities offered by the Students' Council, while the older pupils are to a greater extent more positive in their assessment of the opportunities offered by the other two bodies for pupil influence, even though they are at the same time more critical of the way in which they function at present. These committees seem to operate almost exclusively in one direction, from the committee concerned and out to the pupils.

The pupils consider that they have a greater chance of asserting influence through the subject conferences than through the co-operation committee. The majority of the pupils stated, however, that they were not interested in becoming a representative in either body. Some differences have emerged between representatives and non-representatives in that the former are more interested and positive, but at the same time more critical of these bodies.

An attitude schedule constructed within the project shows, however, that the pupils in the gymnasium are clearly positive to democratic forms of organisation in both school and society. This is independent of whether the items contain "loaded" or neutral words. The pupils in the non-gymnasial streams of the upper secondary schools, however, appear to have a more negative attitude and to be somewhat more negative towards participating in experimental activity in school democracy. This presents us with the result that the pupils, on the one hand, say that they are for democratic forms of work in school and society and, on the other hand, seem to show a lack of motivation for participating in and working for the existent democratic bodies. It can be mentioned that on some points this can be connected with the lack of information that has consistently been criticized. A possible reason for this lack of motivation for participation can be the fact that the existent forms for co-influence have never been allowed to develop naturally out of the opinions and ideas of the pupils, but have always been applied as ready-made systems "from above". In this context it should be pointed out that in many cases the pupils are inadequately trained to take responsibility at the lower school levels.

The changes that the pupils themselves have suggested with regard to the three existent bodies for co-influence have been that more information be furnished about the bodies and their activities, that younger pupils also be given opportunities for co-influence, and that there be some decentralization of the right of decision-making and not, as now, simply discussion of a subject.

C. Innovation Studies

The project has also attempted to follow-up different experiments in democratization that have been carried out in various schools, such as experiments in extended student council activity in grades 1-6, an increased number of pupils in existent co-influence bodies, the creation of new co-influence bodies and lastly teaching/discussion sequences in democracy.

In general it may be said that effects in the desired direction have been measured in this experimental activity, with the exception of the teaching/discussions which did not produce any measurable effect. All the changes have been rather slight, however, and the conclusion must be that considerably more radical measures are necessary if any meaningful effects are to be achieved during a comparatively short period of time. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the experiments in democratization that have been followed up have had relatively little effect on the daily life in school. In some cases the experiment has "failed", as in the attempt to spread student council activities into the first six grades of the comprehensive school, where the older pupils completely dominated the younger ones. In other cases where the experimental activity has been more controlled by adults, the teachers, for example, have not experienced any changes, while the pupils have said that to some extent co-operation has improved and the atmosphere become more pleasant. In yet other cases involving both pupils and student teachers a number of people have not been aware of the existence of co-influence bodies, they do not know who represents them in these bodies, and they state that they have received no information at all from them.

A further example of the small effect that some experiments have had is the fact that there has sometimes been very little difference in both knowledge and attitudes between the pupils who have acted as representatives in one of the co-influence bodies and those who have not. It would be reasonable to assume that there should be differences between these groups. A possible explanation that has been put forward for this state of affairs, and that the pupils themselves have also expressed, is that neither participating nor non-participating pupils feel that they can assert any real influence in these bodies, which are seen more as formalities. Although both teachers and pupils have said that it is the popular pupil in the class who is chosen as representative, most of the pupils have stated that they personally would not want to take part in these activities.

VI. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In conclusion, it can be said that the Swedish school is in general positive towards democratic forms of work, because of the expectation that they will both produce a pleasant atmosphere in the school and that they will benefit the social education of the pupils. This attitude has not yet been officially translated in many concrete measures, however, since the co-influence bodies in which pupils participate have very limited decision-making power. The pupils in Swedish schools nevertheless have today a certain amount of influence, although the extent of this influence is largely dependent on the person sitting at the "top". Swedish school democracy as sketched in the curriculum must therefore be looked upon partly as an ideal goal, a target that has yet to be reached. It is certainly an important step, however, in a process of changes in attitude that can lead to real, active school democracy.

X

PARTICIPATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN SWEDEN: CURRENT EXPERIMENTAL ACTIVITIES

by

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I. TOWARDS INCREASED PARTICIPATION

During recent years in Sweden, both students and staff - including all categories of teachers as well as administrative and technical personnel - have acquired increased influence in the universities and colleges of the country. This influence has come about through greater co-responsibility on the part of students and staff and through increased participation in decision-making, begun in 1969 in the form of experimental activities.

The increased degree of participation in the university sector can be seen as:

i) an aspect of the democratization of work conditions that has occurred, particularly during the past decade, in both the private and public sectors;

ii) an expression of the general effort towards increased participation in practically all fields of interest to the individual that is being made parallel to representative, political democracy;

iii) education itself which emphasizes the development of an interest in other people and ways of living as well as solidarity among people.

Efforts in the direction of increased participation in the working world by those directly concerned may be seen as:

iv) a function of a broadened interest in the community, the basis of which is to be found in, inter alia, the rising level of education and the emphasis in schools on critical thinking, independent action, and collaboration in work.

It is therefore only natural that students and employees should be taking a more active part in the development of various sectors than was previously the case.

The background conditions for participation of various groups in the university sector differ, in some essential aspects, from those in the working world at large. In the university sector, not only the classical parties to work, namely the employers and employees, have been involved in wider participation but also the students. The existence of this third party undeniably presents a number of complications, discussed in more detail below.

In the universities, there is a long-established local decision-making organisation which incorporates exclusively representatives of teaching establishments; here, too, the situation differs from what is common in the employer-employee organisation outside academe.

II. AIMS

The aims of industrial democracy must always be related to the objectives of the private or government undertaking. In the same way, the objectives of participation in higher education must be weighed against, and subordinated to, the aims of the universities and colleges, i.e., ultimately to the aims of educational policy.

According to the stated aims of educational policy, the purpose of education is to provide specialized skills and knowledge, guidance in scientific methodology, knowledge of a general nature, and vocational training; in the case of research, the aims as stated are to afford the research worker the necessary degree of freedom to choose both the objective and the methods of his research.

The aims of democratization in the field of higher education can be defined in different ways, depending upon whether they are approached from the standpoint of the individual, the organisation, or the employer. It is markedly difficult to arrive at any clear definition of these aims.

A. Aims of the Individual

The overriding aim can be defined as a desire on the part of the employee, or student, to gain an insight into, and influence over, daily activities by broadening his interest and commitment in these activities. They would of course include work in the longer term, thereby increasing his job satisfaction. In this way, it is possible to satisfy the need latent in every human being to influence his living and working environment; at the same time the employer reaps benefits such as increased work efficiency and a broader experience base for the decision-making process.

The realization of these aims, however, reveals that individuals often have differing views as to how influence should be guaranteed and the means be used. "The individual" cannot be seen as a homogeneous group of individuals but he can be divided into groups with similar interests. The aims of increased participation can be defined differently for the different groups: established teaching staff, non-established teaching staff, assistants and research fellows, technical and administrative personnel and students.

A further complication arises from the civil-service status of employees, that sometimes carries extensive powers. Teaching and other staff are usually classified as the "employees" but, in some cases, can also be described as "employers" since the concept of the "employer" in educational establishments includes many people who, although employed, are bound in a variety of contexts to represent the employer.

The democratization of activities in educational establishments also covers the students. This group, which can be divided in turn into research students and first-degree students, cannot be regarded as employees, but they have nevertheless acquired increased influence over educational activities in recent years. This development has been considered as self-evident for several reasons. Aims as defined by teaching and other employed staff are not always in agreement with those proposed by the students.

B. Aims of the Community

The aims of the employer in the educational sector - i.e. ultimately the Government - are to achieve an increased involvement on the part of students and employees in questions of educational policy and to improve the individual's basis for decision-making. It is through increased participation in the educational process by those directly concerned that these aims are expected to be achieved, and it is in the expectation that all those with knowledge, experience or interest in education will participate both in its planning and the realization of the aims being pursued.

III. METHODS OF ACHIEVING INCREASED PARTICIPATION

The most common informal channels for participation, or those that need not be stipulated formally in statute or regulation, are: provision of information; contact and communication among the groups concerned; training of employees in questions relating to the enterprise, co-operation, control, conference techniques, etc.

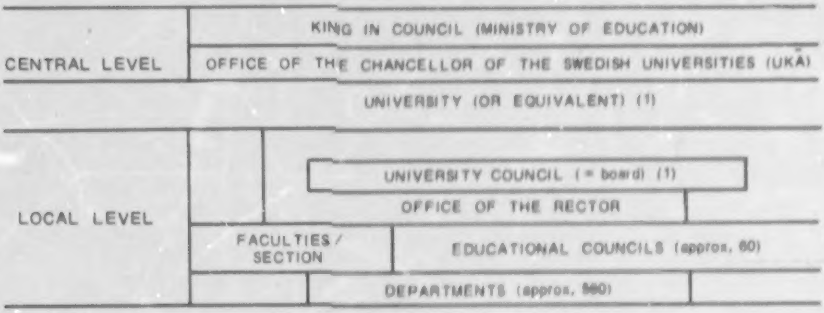
The formal methods which have come increasingly to be used are: the industrial council, for information and consultation between employers and employed; an extension of this by the creation of subsidiary bodies, committees, boards; the creation of other consultative bodies; participation in the deliberations preceding decisions; and the right of co-decision and co-responsibility through membership in the decision-making body, the formal method most advanced to date.

All these methods have been used in the university sector in an effort to increase participation by students and employees. However, the method which has produced the greatest participation is membership in the decision-making body; because of the stratified organisation of higher education, relatively many people have been given the opportunity to exercise influence in this way. It is a method through which employees and students become decision-makers themselves whereas all other forms of participation offer them the opportunity only to influence the decision-makers. An important consequence of real influence through co-decision-making is that the students assume responsibility for the decisions made. Influence through this means always implies power which, in the democratic process, is accompanied by responsibility. Such responsibility implies that sanctions can be taken against a person who abuses his power, or exceeds his authority.

The responsibility of those participating in the decision-making process has several aspects, covering both responsibility to the groups represented and responsibility under the law. In the Swedish public sector, there is a special form known as "official responsibility". This means, among other things, that persons active in the public sector who are guilty of irregularity, neglect or abuse of authority in their official duries can be punished for such misconduct under special legislation. The sanctions, however, differ for those holding an appointment. As students hold no post from which they can be suspended or dismissed, the punishment in their case is a fine (or imprisonment). This is, of course, a "reserve" power, very seldom used.

IV. THE ORGANISATION OF EXPERIMENTAL ACTIVITIES

In 1968 the King in Council decided on experimental activities involving new forms of collaboration among students, teaching staff, and other personnel. The object of these experimental activities is to obtain, through practical experience, a basis for a more definitive structure for university organisation and to illustrate current problems such as those relating to the participation of different categories in various bodies and types of transaction.


CENTRAL LEVEL
KING IN COUNCIL (MINISTRY OF EDUCATION)
OFFICE OF THE CHANCELLOR OF THE SWEDISH UNIVERSITIES (UKÄ)
UNIVERSITY (OR EQUIVALENT) (1)
LOCAL LEVEL
UNIVERSITY COUNCIL (= board) (1)
OFFICE OF THE RECTOR
FACULTIES / SECTION
EDUCATIONAL COUNCILS (approx. 60)
DEPARTMENTS (approx. 960)

(1) 10 in number.

The organisational importance of these experiments is that representatives of the employees and students, either appointed by the personnel organisations and student unions or directly elected, should be incorporated as members of decision-making bodies. By undertaking to participate in administrative bodies, these members have also accepted full official responsibility. From central level, certain guidelines and regulations have been laid down concerning the organisational structure of these experiments. The universities and colleges were subsequently charged, with due allowance for individual differences, to organise procedures for collaboration between the different groups and to try out different methods - both formal and informal - for achieving a positive interaction in day-to-day activities, planning, the teaching process, and research between individuals and groups.

A. The Local Level

i) Department Level

In these experiments, the decision-making rights of the Prefect have been transferred, within the framework of four different models, to a collective decision-making body called the Departmental Board. This Board incorporates representatives of all the groups concerned. In model 1, the field of competence of this body relates only to educational matters. In model 2, the Board deals with educational as well as other selected matters. In model 3, it handles all questions with the exception of particular, clearly stated ones such as university appointments and budgetary requests. In model 4, the collective body is responsible for all the matters within the department's field of competence. Some 200 of the 560 university departments in Sweden are participating in these experiments.

ii) Faculty/Section Level

Faculties/sections comprise all the established teaching staff belonging to them, i.e. professors, assistant professors and university lecturers. These bodies are often very large, several of them comprising over 100 persons. They deal primarily with questions requiring a degree of scientific judgement and government allocations. Both because of the size of these bodies and because of their competence, no experiments have been conducted with regard to them.

Parallel with the faculties, there are Educational Councils which handle questions relating to education and supervision of the students. Such Councils consist of teachers and students, plus a representative of the technical and administrative staff, under the chairmanship of the Dean of the faculty/section. All 60 Educational Councils in Sweden are taking part in the experiments.

iii) University Council Level

The University Council or Board consists, by statute, of certain ex-officio members, namely the Rector, the Pro-Rector, in some cases the administrative director, the Head Librarian (for library matters) and the Deans of all the faculties and sections. The structure of all University Councils has been enlarged under the experiments and at present includes, in addition to the ex officio members, a varying proportion of representatives of the university's students and employees.

B. The Central Administrative Authority (UKÄ)

i) The Board

For purposes of the experiments, the Board of UKÄ, whose members are appointed by the King in Council, includes a representative of the students and representatives of the staff organisations.

ii) The Faculty Planning Councils

Within the UKÄ, there are five Faculty Planning Councils (one each for the arts and theology; law and the social sciences; medicine, odontology and pharmacy; mathematics and the natural sciences; and technology). Each of these Councils - which are drafting bodies, with the task of following developments, conditions and needs in research and education, and proposing measures in these fields - at present include, again for purposes of the experiments, members representing the students and employees.

V. THE SPECIAL NATURE OF PARTICIPATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

A. The Existence of Student Groups

The idea underlying democratization of the universities is that all those concerned should be involved both in the structuring of daily activities and in the work of long-term planning. In principle, the same idea underlies democratization in private enterprise and public administration during the past ten years. In the field of higher education, however, there is a factor that has given rise to special considerations and provisions, namely the existence of student groups.

Students cannot be classified as the employed party, even if it can justifiably be claimed that, in their situation, they bear many resemblances to employees. The students are active daily at the university, they have a great need to know and influence the planning and structuring of the activity, in this case education, and they are highly dependent on a good climate of co-operation prevailing, above all, in the teaching-learning situation.

The students comprise an independent group over and above the classical parties in the labour market, the employers and employees. This group cannot, automatically, claim an influence of the type traditionally offered to employees; students are not represented on the industrial council which serves as a body for information and consultation between the employers and employed.

However, for the reasons mentioned above, namely:

i) that the students are active daily at the university,
ii) that they have a clear need to be allowed to influence the planning and structuring of education, and
iii) that they are a very large pressure group (5-10 times greater than the employees),

they have come to be regarded as a party that should have a self-evident opportunity to make its voice heard in matters relating to higher education.

It cannot be denied that an increased participatory influence on the part of the students has created certain problems. These problems must be understood and taken into account in designing the forms of participation in each body, above all, the choice of methods of participation, the division of electoral corporations for the purposes of electing representatives to different bodies, the composition of boards and councils, and the means for dealing with matters affecting the field of competence of the decision-making body.

B. Student Participation

Even if the majority express a positive attitude towards increased co-operation among the various groups, an assessment of these experiments, which have continued now for almost four years, reveals that some conflicts have arisen, co-operation has in some places been less good; the interest in co-operation - particularly among students - has varied, and sometimes been very weak; work has been administratively burdensome; and sometimes efficiency has actually been impaired.

From student quarters, these experimental activities are sometimes criticized in that students do not consider themselves to have acquired any real influence, which many consider can be achieved only by having an identical number of teachers and students on the decision-making bodies. It is also maintained that the teaching staff are often negative to increased participation, having been forced during the experiments to relinquish influence over which they had previously enjoyed a monopoly.

By the teaching staff, it has been maintained, for instance, that the students have neither the opportunity nor interest to participate in long-term planning in that they spend a relatively short time at the educational institution in question and are therefore usually interested in achieving immediate results and advantages; also they lack a knowledge of economic, organisational, legal and administrative circumstances and are thus not as competent to make decisions as the civil servants.

i) Student Interests

Naturally, the students cannot in general be assumed to have the same interest in becoming involved in the shifting affairs of the educational institutions as the various groups of employees, since the latter spend a very long time there, sometimes their entire professional life. The interests of the students relate mainly to the content of teaching, its planning and organisation, the arrangement of courses and examinations, etc. These circumstances must thus be taken into account when structuring participation for each type of task, and for each individual body. It is of fundamental importance to give the students influence, above all, in the field in which they have their natural and daily activity, namely in education as such. From this starting point, the objective is to develop further and to reinforce a positive attitude and will to co-operate in every aspect of the daily work of the institution, on the part of all those working there. Only by such a positive attitude and continuous co-operation in the institution can the student, and the employee, experience a functional participation, with real opportunity to exercise a joint influence.

In the case of participation by the students, attention must thus be directed to aims and methods in the daily work of education. Co-operation among teaching staff, other personnel and the students must find expression in the specification of targets, the organisation of working groups in education, the planning of courses and individual phases of courses, the selection and use of teaching aids, and the evaluation of teaching results.

Experience shows that it is markedly difficult to establish conditions favourable to co-operation in a teaching situation characterized by a one-sided imparting of knowledge by the teacher ex cathedra to the students, or by other work procedures that fail to stimulate action on the part of the students themselves.

Intensive pedagogic development work, anchored in the institutions themselves, and a high level of pedagogic skill on the part of university teachers thus seem to be necessary conditions for achieving increased participation in day-to-day work. It is vital that we should try to achieve a more individualized teaching which utilizes fully the students' own activity and capacity. The student must not be seen as an object for instruction, but as a worthy partner in the interplay of the educational process. The development of collaboration procedures should be seen as a self-evident aspect of the effort to make teaching more relevant to the individual student, and more adapted to his needs.

ii) Student Expertise

The students' suggested lack of expertise in matters involving scientific problems, administration and organisation stems largely from their lesser experience and knowledge of education and research and of questions related to working procedures in government administration and educational institutions. This, however, is an objection that can to some extent be made in respect of all lay participation.

For questions that involve long-term planning, one must naturally assume that the interest of the students is less than that of the teachers, whose job it is to plan, organise and co-ordinate teaching. This should be taken into consideration in the composition of boards and decision-making councils, and in the delegation of questions of this type. There is hardly any reason to try out composition models in which the students are in a majority in the decision-making bodies.

iii) Student Responsibility

As mentioned above, it has sometimes been suggested that the students lack the sense of responsibility which characterizes the civil servant. Such criticism is bound up with, among other things, the conflicts that have arisen in certain places when students have tried to override the rules which govern the decision-making process.

In such cases the political attitude of the students seems to have been to reject the foundation of our democratic constitution, which is that the Government and Parliament should decide on the guidelines, and that the state authorities - in this case the university authorities - should make and execute decisions within this framework.

Experience shows that it is necessary to inform in detail and train the students and employees who take part in administrative decisions, as to the regulations applying under constitutional law. Some relaxation of official responsibility might possibly be considered for the students so participating. However, there should be no question of relieving them of all official responsibility when they participate in making decisions.

C. Information and In-Service Training

A necessary condition for smoothly functioning collaboration procedures is that all concerned should receive adequate information on issues of fact, and on their treatment. As mentioned earlier, those participating in different bodies as decision-makers need an in-service training that covers not only procedures for collaboration but also the handling of business in accordance with the administrative legislation and practice, plus the acts and regulations that govern the handling of different issues of fact.

So far, too little attention has been paid to both information and in-service training. The university authorities should therefore be made responsible for providing such information and training on a continuous basis which, in the case of students, would preferably constitute a routine aspect of their education.

It would therefore become the responsibility of the teacher, in the teaching situation, to provide information not only on aims and means in respect of education and teaching but also on questions related to increased participation. Parallel with the experiments in new forms of collaboration, pedagogic development work is being pursued at the educational institutions, with a view to teaching that is better adapted to the individual and is designed to promote increased commitment and greater motivation on the part of the individual student in his educational experience.

D. Participation by a Decentralized Right of Decision in the Planning Process

The right of decision should, in all types of matters, lie at the level of the organisation, and with the particular body where the best overall view of the relevant circumstances can be obtained; thus, the local authorities' influence over, and responsibility for, the use of educational resources should be increased. But a decentralization of the decision-making process, if it is to be regarded as meaningful by those immediately concerned, must not be restricted simply to formal and practical administrative changes but must also cover a factual transfer of economic freedom of movement and economic responsibility, e.g., by a system of grants based on programme budgets.

The consequences of decentralization must be borne in mind. High priority must be accorded, in the work of the educational authorities, to matters involving the formulation of aims. It is by comparing performances with the aims adopted that the responsible bodies can judge the efficiency of operations. Obviously, the aims set for education must be so formulated as to agree with the community's intention for such activities, but they must also be such that those responsible for actual performance - the teaching and other staff, and the students - can experience them as meaningful and stimulating. By the very nature of things, the formulation of overriding aims in the educational sector, will be couched in markedly general terms. This does not imply that the intent is lost or obscured. In all administration, the starting point for a description of duties and the allied distribution of work must be a confidence in the will and ability of the bodies involved to find suitable solutions on the basis of generally-worded objectives.

If acceptable formulations of objectives are to be achieved, co-operation is necessary in the planning process between the politically responsible bodies, the central and local education authorities, and the groups affected.

A second, and closely allied, consequence of the development outlined is a need, within the different decision-making bodies, to provide for participation by the interested parties in such a way as to promote the common objectives. The experimental activities with the new forms of collaboration discussed in this paper are designed, *inter alia,* to provide a basis for deliberations on the composition and working procedures of different university bodies. Here, again, let us emphasize how important it is that extended participation - if it is to have the desired effects - be accompanied by broadly conceived, in-service training for those engaged in such activities.

XI

THE PLANNING PROCESS FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF BREMEN

by

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NOTE:

The following paper describes and interprets the situation at the University of Bremen as of April 1973

I. INTRODUCTION

The educational world in recent years has been jolted out of its complacency by a series of events; first and foremost were the various student movements that erupted in a number of countries during the previous decade. Though the causes and consequences of these student movements have varied, their cumulative impact has been to force the educational establishment to reconsider the goals, structure and process of education, especially at the university level.

The rising pressure for reform, in turn, has resulted in new emphasis on the need for planning new structures to replace the old. Key elements in such planning have been the demands for participation on an equal footing by all those involved in the education process and greater relevance of educational experiences vis-à-vis the real world. As a result of these trends, educationists in a number of countries are beginning to consider the promises and problems of planning for participation.

What is urgently needed at the moment are candid discussions of the pitfalls along the road to planned participation. The success of these ventures depends as much on an understanding of the problems involved as on the enthusiasm generated by its promises.

In this paper we shall attempt to examine the problems of planned participation from both a descriptive and an analytical perspective. First, a case study will be presented of the University of Bremen, a new German university that was conceived and designed to foster participation throughout the university. To date, it serves as the major example of such an institution in the BRD. (1) The study is based on the experiences and conversations of the two authors and does not represent a systematic, carefully documented, or officially sanctioned study of the University of Bremen. Secondly, generalizations of an analytical nature will be inferred from this concrete case study. The likelihood should be borne in mind, however, that such abstractions will not always precisely reflect the realities at Bremen. It is hoped nevertheless that, in raising the level of generality, the experiences of Bremen will become more relevant to others contemplating planned participation in educational institutions. While the Bremen experience in its entirety is unique and unlikely to be duplicated elsewhere, particular aspects of that experience may prove useful to others.

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1. Bundesrepublik Deutschland.

II. ISSUES IN PLANNING FOR PARTICIPATION

Planning for participation poses a number of questions. Are the requirements for planning compatible with the prerequisites for participation? Is the ideological perspective of participation viewed as human growth compatible with the structural perspective of participation viewed in terms of organisational arrangements? What gives rise to the demand for participation in organisational life? Finally, is genuine participation possible in organisations that are characterized by a hierarchically structured environment? A brief discussion of these general issues will help place the case study of Bremen within a broader analytical context.

By its very nature, organisational planning is a process abstracted from the real world, populated by complex individuals with diverse needs which they seek to satisfy. It consists of an organisation chart populated by "personnel" filling "positions" with specifically assigned functions. An organisation is not planned for specific individuals but rather for "Every Man" who has the requisite formal qualifications, since a constant turnover of personnel is presumed during the organisation's existence. A certain degree of predictability in the behaviour of the personnel is required if activities are to be co-ordinated and organisational goals met. As one student of organisational behaviour has written, organisations generate:

> "... persistent pressure for the institutionalization of the relationships, which are thus removed from the uncertainties of individual fealty or sentiment. Moreover, it is necessary for the relations within the structure to be determined in such a way that individuals will be interchangeable and the organisation will thus be free of dependence upon personal qualities. In this way, the formal structure becomes subject to calculable manipulation, an instrument of rational action."(1)

While planning deals with people abstractly in terms of personnel, advocates of participation prefer to view people in terms of their individual personalities. The participatory ethos emphasizes the spontaneous nature of man and focuses on human values whereas planning frequently stresses the compliant nature of man and treats people instrumentally as means for realizing organisational goals.

Thus the requirements for planning often come into conflict with the requirements for participation, creating a general dilemma for the planner of participation. On the one hand, he is urged to think of people in abstract and instrumental terms; to spell out in great detail what is to be done; to devise appropriate incentives and punishments to ensure that people do what is expected of them; and to co-ordinate all the resulting activities so that the overall goals can be achieved. On the other hand, he is inclined to think of people in human terms; to want to encourage innovation, creativity and spontaneity by leaving the solution of problems to be worked out by others; to refrain from coercing or manipulating others; and to hope that by so doing (within prescribed limits), human growth is fostered and collective goals are realized. How to resolve this dilemma is a major problem facing planners of participation and is reflected in the case study of Bremen.

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1. Selznick, Philip, "Foundation of the Theory of Organizations", in American Sociological Review XIII (1948), pp. 25-35.

Compatibility of the ideological and structural perspectives of participation is an issue which necessarily overlaps to some extent the former one. Participation as an ideology derives its inspiration from the humanist tradition and democratic values. Great emphasis is placed on the spontaneity, intelligence and goodness believed to be inherent in human beings, as well as on the importance of collective action in the further development of individual qualities and in the ultimate elimination of social constraints. Participation is valued as an end in itself, or at least as an intermediary value, rather than as a purely instrumental means to some organisational goal. Passivity, authority and obedience are frowned upon, while spontaneity, equality and questioning are encouraged.

It would seem that enthusiastic individuals committeed to this ideology are not enough to make participation "work" in organisational contexts: too great a reliance on ideology results in an uncritical acceptance of its premises and an under-estimation of ensuing problems. Contrary to the ideology, spontaneity does not always occur or is not always useful. Solutions to problems are not always found merely because the number of minds working on them collectively has been multiplied. Early discouragement and withdrawal may result when there is no clear-cut individual "pay off" for efforts. Most people have been socialized towards compliance with directives emanating from above in hierarchically structured organisations and, consequently, they are unprepared to participate on a more equal basis in organisational life. Conflicting views and interests arise in all group situations occasionally and non-authoritarian ways of resolving them have to be developed.

For participation to be realized in an organisational context, there is a need for organisational structures and mechanisms that facilitate participation and sufficient substance to initiate activity. As a structural concept, participation is concerned with the creation of organisational structures and mechanisms which facilitate the involvement of as many as feasible in crucial decision-making areas; the initiation of activities by lower as well as higher echelon personnel; the development of group dynamic processes that are non-authoritarian and co-operative in character; and the resolution of conflict along democratic rather than hierarchical lines. Planners for participation have not as yet resolved, however, how best to combine the ideological promise of a new order where human dignity and values are of central importance with the demands of organisational effectiveness and efficiency. The case of Bremen pinpoints this dilemma. While too great a reliance on ideology alone may result in organisational chaos, exclusive concern with the techniques of organisational planning for participation, disassociated from its ideological base, can result in forms of participation without substance. In turn, the danger arises that the goal of genuine participation in organisations will be replaced by a form of "pseudo-participation" designed to serve the interests of organisational administrators rather than the rank-and-file personnel.

What has given rise recently to technocratic designs for "pseudo-participation" by lower-echelon personnel in organisational life? The source of this development lies in the hope of administrators that it will help reduce the discrepancy between plans and fulfilment. Hierarchically structured, traditional organisations want people to fulfil unquestionably their organisational role requirements: compliance is sought and insubordination is punished; efficiency and effectiveness are organisational hallmarks. People, dealt with segmentally and impersonally, are considered the instrumental means for the realization of organisational goals. Human beings themselves, however, resist such compartmentalization and dehumanization and seek to relate to one another as "wholes".

All organisations are therefore faced with a basic paradox: in order to plan, co-ordinate efforts and control activities the organisation has to be conceived of in depersonalized terms at an abstract level, while in order to carry out plans individuals are required who often refuse to limit their relations to the segmental requirements of their formal positions. The non-observance of organisational rules and administrative directives by lower-echelon personnel poses a major challenge to hierarchical control and gives rise to the discrepancy between plans and fulfilment. Administrators are constantly seeking new ways to induce greater compliance with organisational rules.

The discrepancy between plans devised by organisational leadership and their fulfilment by lower-echelon personnel can also result from over-compliance with organisational rules. Few organisations could realize their goals if personnel duly followed the rules to the letter. The union tactic of "working-to-rule" as a means of forcing management concessions is an implicit recognition of this fact of organisational life. Success in reaching organisational goals requires sufficient commitment to these goals on the part of personnel so that at times they will improvise means of achieving them. How best to develop such a commitment by personnel who have not had a hand in forming them is a perpetual problem for organisational administrators.

Commitment to goals, however, is not enough: flexibility and creativity are also needed in improvising appropriate means to achieve these goals. Failure in this regard will again result in discrepencies between plans and fulfilment. Compulsive compliance with the minutiae of organisational rules prevent one from exercising sufficient discretion necessary at times to realize the organisation's goals.

Recently, as technology has become increasingly sophisticated, the demand for more flexible, highly motivated personnel has risen. Some organisations have been experimenting with greater participation for lower-echelon personnel as a means of technocratic manipulation to reduce the discrepancy between management-initiated plans and their fulfilment: limited representation in decision-making bodies fosters the illusion of having a voice in setting organisational goals and thereby raising their commitment to them. It is essential that such forms of "pseudo-participation", which are widespread and growing, be distinguished from more earnest attempts at stimulating genuine participation in organisational life as is the case in Bremen.

Is it possible to have genuine participation in organisations that are dependent on a hierarchically structured environment? Might such participatory enclaves be viewed as potential dangers to hierarchical structures and, if so, what are their chances for survival? Should such enclaves of genuine participation be restrictive or should they actively seek to change the receptivity of the external environment? Hopefully the case study of Bremen will help illustrate the problems encountered from a hostile environment by a university dedicated to the fostering of democratic participation.

III. THE BLUEPRINT STAGE

Discussion of the University of Bremen may be organised on the basis of three stages in the planning process, although they have been somewhat arbitrarily identified. The "blueprint stage" is the stage in which the plan itself is created: the ideas of the planners are gradually combined and integrated and the planners respond to, as well as attempt to influence, events and people who express an interest in what is being planned.

The second stage, or "adaptation stage", begins when the plan is first implemented. Physical facilities required by the organisation are secured and personnel are recruited. It is here that planners are often concerned with fitting people into the plan.

While this concern continues, there is a gradual transition to the "redesigning stage". The organisation has now been in existence long enough for informal structures of interaction to have developed. In addition, various individuals have developed their own organisational ideas and informal work norms have evolved. Finally, unanticipated events that create problems for the realization of organisational goals arise. These informal interactions, informal norms and unanticipated events all serve to place aspects of the organisational plan in jeopardy. Although the planners, or their successors, will still attempt to fit personnel and events into the plan, they often find that the plans must be redesigned to fit the needs of people and the exigencies of events.

A. Political and Ideological Climate of the BRD

The University of Bremen, more so than most institutions, was shaped during its embryonic development by the political, social and ideological climate of the Federal Republic in the years immediately preceding the University's creation. A prerequisite for understanding the initial design of Bremen, therefore, is an awareness of these environmental forces and the climate of opinion they created.

The collapse of the Third Reich coming in the wake of great material and human sacrifice left a demoralized population facing an uncertain future. This was not a time of moral questioning, but of physical survival and rebuilding: hard work and the "pulling together" of the different strata of society for the "common good" was the doctrine of the day. The vision was that of a new Germany, economically prosperous, socially stable and politically independent and united.

In denouncing the legacy of the Nazi period, however, the Germans turned their gaze not towards the future but into the past. The heritage of the Weimar era, if not the Imperial period, became the inspirational source of many of the institutions of post-war Germany. Nostalgia for a return to "normalcy" rather than a spirit of critical questioning and reform dominated Germany from the end of the Second World War until the mid-60's.

Nowhere was this truer than in education. Ambitious, forward-looking plans for revamping German education proposed by the Allies shortly after the war were soon forgotten and old pre-Nazi educational institutions re-established. According to the recent OECD Review of National Policy for Education in Germany:

> "In virtually none of the Länder during the 1950's was any serious attempt made to reconstruct the school system on a basis other than that existent in the 1920's. Indeed, some Länder appeared to have gone back to the years immediately before 1914 for their model of reconstruction. Only in the 1960's, and then only partially across the Federal Republic, were serious attempts made to break with important elements of the educational system developed during the nineteenth century."(1)

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1. Reviews of National Policies for Education - Germany, OECD, Paris, 1972, pp. 18, 19.

Universities were no exception to this rule of non-innovation. The old German *Ordinarien* were re-established in their seats of power and reigned over students, assistants and *Dozenten.*

> "After 1945, universities were restored in much the same form as they had existed before, despite the fact that their structures were authoritarian, particularly within the institutes, and their traditions weakened by their ready acceptance of Nazi ideals and practices ... German universities and higher technical schools have mirrored only too well the hierarchical and authoritarian society they served. They were excellent vehicles for inculcating in young people a respect for duly constituted authority, hesitance in expressing one's own opinion, avoidance of social commitment and a complete lack of consciousness that there might be some important general questions of school or university organisations where student opinion should be heard as of right, and even acted upon ... Indeed, most *Ordinarien* appeared to be incapable of recognizing any legitimacy at all in the various claims made upon them by the young. The professors defined the university as, in its essence, simply themselves." (1)

The archaic form and substance of German universities have begun to be changed only recently. The frustrations engendered by this intolerable situation at the universities, coupled both with a disenchantment with the complacency of the older generation for German prosperity amid glaring inequalities and with a disavowal of the polemics of the anti-communist crusade of the Cold War era, created the basis of the German student movement of the late 1960's. The movement was encouraged by the fact that previous milder efforts to reform the institutional structures had been rebuffed. Participants increasingly turned towards a generally Marxist interpretation of the root causes of their dilemma, and their subsequent action reflected this ideological commitment to varying degrees.

Meanwhile, the conflagration sparked off by the student movement soon engulfed large segments of society, and demands for educational reform as well as counter-demands were made throughout the Federal Republic. Proposals for educational reform were heatedly debated and became enmeshed in party politics at *Land* and *Bund* levels.

B. *Initial Phase in the Planning for Bremen University* (2)

Such was the crucible out of which were forged the ideas that became embodied in the Bremen Model. Many of the individuals instrumental in creating the overall plan for the University were active participants in the student movement and in the educational reform debates in the Federal Republic.

Bremen, the smallest *Land* in the BRD, was until 1971 the only German *Land* that had no university. As far back as 1947, the British occupational forces had proposed a university for Bremen which would be a complete break with tradition, but the idea was forgotten when the Federal Republic was born.

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1. *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 23.

2. For a more detailed account of the historical and political background of the University of Bremen, see *Die Bremer Universitat,* "Versuch einer demokratischen Hochschulreform" (Manuscript of the University of Bremen), 1971. Also Berndt, Elin-Birgit, *et.al.*, *Erziehung der Erzieher: Das Bremen Reform-Modell,* Reinbek bei Hamburg, Rowohlt Sachbuck 6782, 1972.

Again in 1960 interest was expressed in a university in Bremen, but the Founding Senate of professors set up to plan a new university accomplished little and in 1967 was dissolved, due in part to a conflict over the lack of student representation. A new Founding Senate was constituted composed of professors, assistants and students, but it soon reached an impasse over the issue of employment terms for planners and all professors resigned. They had felt that professorial appointments were necessary to attract experienced, high-calibre personnel; the others believed that such persons would be hostile to genuine comprehensive reforms, and they preferred to hire people committed to educational reform despite their lack of experience in educational planning. New, more progressive minded professors were appointed, two of whom were opposed by the State of Bremen's CDU and FDP parties. Thus, political considerations and pressures made themselves felt from an early stage in the University's planning. It was a time when education reform matters became the focus of partisan disputes and when, conversely, political ideology and loyalties increasingly became matters of concern in the educational world.

It is important to understand that German universities have never been autonomous bodies completely independent of the state authorities. For example, an *Ordinariat* had to be approved by the political authorities and had to negotiate the terms and conditions of his employment with the respective state *Kultusministerium* (Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs) and *Finanzministerium* rather than with the university community. (1) Only after approval of his appointment by the political authorities did the traditional *Ordinarien* exercise autonomous rule within their respective institutes, virtually free from outside interference of any sort. Thus, the political authorities have by tradition always intervened in university affairs, especially in matters of faculty recruitment; this interference, however, has recently increased, exposing its political and ideological character, and the university community has been more willing to engage in political struggles on the issue. Such is the situation which crucially affects Bremen today.

In sum, the structure and composition of Bremen's Founding Senate, instrumental in shaping the broad contours of what was to become the "Bremen Model", was the result of many forces: the student movement, the nationwide thrust for educational reform and the SPD plurality in the *Land* which gave progressive ideas more support. The long-standing pressures for the creation of a university came to fruition, by chance, at a time when the climate for educational innovation was most receptive. Finally, the longstanding tradition of State involvement in university affairs had its impact on recruitment, even at the stage of the Founding Senate. All these forces continued to be of importance in later stages of the planning process.

C. *Subsequent Phase in the Planning of Bremen University*

In autumn 1970 concrete planning for the proposed university was begun, the details of which were worked out by two bodies created by the Founding Senate. The first body was composed of three honorary Plan-

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1. In the nineteenth century, from 20 to 30% of German *Ordinarien* received their appointment by the State without the consent, and at times against the expressed wishes, of the respective university faculties. (Paulsen, quoted in *Reviews of National Policies for Education - Germany*, *op.cit*,

ning Commissions, one each for social science, natural science and teacher training; each Commission was composed of approximately 12 professors, assistants and students, recruited from various German universities. The second body comprised some 20 full-time academic planners, recruited on two-year contracts. They were, for the most part, young social science graduates selected because of their interest in and commitment to educational reform.

Short-term contracts for the planners discouraged more senior educational planners from applying for positions, while the idea of planning a university to incorporate many features of educational reform attracted young, progressive-minded academics who, like many members of the planning commissions, had been part of the student movement themselves. This short-term tenure for planners, however, has resulted in a lack of continuity in planning personnel and in attendant problems.

In general, the Bremen experience illustrates the advantages as well as the pitfalls in recruiting enthusiastic novices for planning a new type of university. Such an assessment will undoubtedly raise the broader question of how educational planners who are schooled in conventional ideas and whose experiences are limited to the planning of hierarchically organised institutions, can contribute to planning for participation.

From the very beginning there was a conscious effort at Bremen to broaden the basis of participation in the initial planning process. In this way, more clashes of divergent views could emerge than in a planning process limited solely to "professional" planners. The Bremen experiences may therefore be somewhat unusual because they stemmed from broader social forces which inspired among planners a consensus of approach that was unconventional. The design of the proposed university, so determined, called for extensive and genuine participation in its running by all who were part of the university. Perhaps, as a general principle, a prerequisite in planning for participation may well be to extend participation in planning.

A pitfall that lies in the path of any planner for participation is the lack of adequate models and empirical examples upon which to base his plan, leading to unrealistic planning. Such was the case in Bremen where the planners were clearly creating something new. On the other hand, this lack of models leads to a freer rein for mental gymnastics and encourages greater creativity at a purely abstract level. At Bremen, a disproportionate amount of time in the initial planning stage was devoted to theoretical discussions. What should be done to decrease the gap between the plan and reality? Possibly what is needed at present is an international "Clearing House" of information on actual experiences of planned participation. OECD, for example, might well carry out such a function. A "data bank" of experiences must of course emphasize failure as well as success if planners are to avoid the errors already made by others.

D. The Bremen Model

The unifying idea of those who planned the University and of those who are now trying to implement the concept is that societal reform and university reform are envisioned to go hand in hand. Present-day society is characterized by political conflicts between the powerful privileged with their vested interest in preserving the status quo and the powerless under-privileged, interested in social change; furthermore societal progress requires partisan involvement on behalf of the under-privileged leading to greater degrees of democracy, equality and humanism within society. If a university is to remain a progressive institution of society it cannot pretend to be neutral but must critically use its know-how and its tools to serve the people. (1)

There is general consensus in the University among the more left-wing oriented faculty and members that the unsatisfactory conditions of German universities are due not only to over-crowding and to a structure geared to the interests of the *Ordinarien* but also to an inability of the established arts and sciences to orient teaching and research to practical problems and to relate education to the future occupational needs of the students. The reform impetus is aimed at equipping students with better occupational qualifications and, at the same time, with a critical awareness of the implications for society of scientific knowledge and of various occupational activities. This creates to some extent a dilemma: the University is committed to improving the occupational training of students and at the same time to developing an ability to criticize the very society that is creating jobs. If this two-fold objective is not carefully balanced, the original intentions of the University become distorted.

The planners at Bremen sought to realize this critical notion of "praxis-orientation" through the organisational structure of *Projektstudium*. This meant that all work at the University would be organised on the basis of projects which would combine theory and practice and whose essential characteristics would be:

i) work-oriented (*Praxisbezug*);
ii) problem-oriented (*Problembezug*);
iii) interdisciplinary. (2)

The intention of a *Projektstudium* is to overcome flaws inherent in a traditional study programme consisting of a number of courses and subjects organised around clearly defined disciplines. The idea is that the student during his university career works on several central themes (Projects) to which he attempts to relate various disciplines. It is hoped that project-oriented studies help the student to develop an awareness of the social and political implications of his academic and occupational experiences.

Participation by all members of the university at all levels was a crucial implicit assumption in planning the Bremen Model. In a conventional university, organisation around disciplines clearly affects who is more likely to interact with whom. One aspect of increasing participation at Bremen was precisely an attempt to break down the traditional barriers that separate disciplines, thereby thwarting communication. Interdisciplinary contact and co-operation were encouraged: consequently the university was structured around broad study areas (*Studienbereiche*) rather than the more narrowly defined disciplines.

The traditional university also sets barriers between different groups by distinguishing them in terms of status, prerogatives and power. The Bremen planners attempted to reduce substantially status distinctions in keeping with the more equalitarian ideology of the student movement. Much of the decision-making power at the University was placed in the hands of committees in which teachers, (3) students and *Dienstleister* (all others who worked at the University) were equally represented. The

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1. See the application paper by the Founding President, Th. v. d. Vring (1970), quoted in E.-B. Berndt *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 ff.

2. See "Zum Projektstudium an der Universität Bremen", in E.-B. Berndt *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 185 ff.

3. The traditional distinction between Ordinarien, Dozenten and Assistants had been eliminated.

institutionalization of *Drittelparität* (equal parity for the three status groupings) was designed to give all who worked or studied there an equal voice in its operation and subsequent planning. Moreover, a number of university matters had to pass through more than one committee. All meetings are open to any non-member who would be barred only from final voting. The restructuring of learning around projects rather than conventional classes or seminars was designed partly to change the traditional asymmetrical pattern of teacher-student interaction. Teachers would work in groups where co-operative collective efforts were emphasized and students were given an important voice in deciding the contents of each project. Moreover, tutors (advanced students) were to lead small group discussions with the students in each project, thus further encouraging student participation and initiative.

In participatory planning there is an inclination for specifics to be worked out by the participants. Bremen followed this pattern, leaving the specific content of the projects to the discretion of teachers and students. Only a structural framework was supplied: projects were to show the social relevance of the students' activities and be related to the real world.

The lack of detail in planning for participation at Bremen is, in our opinion, an attempt to resolve the previously discussed dilemma between the demands for planning and the requirements for participation. The "planning" demands are met by the broad overall design on paper; the "participation" demands by the absence of detail and by an infra-structure that encourages participation. The lack of detail can in part be traced to too great a belief that, in the "right" ideological commitment, only broad structural forms unencumbered by details are required to make participation work. This compromise "solution", however, has resulted in reduced effectiveness because of an inadequate co-ordination of activities.

Better ways of integrating the ideological and structural components of participation need to be found. Much thought has to be devoted to finding solutions to this dilemma other than the one herein discussed, namely a broad framework with little detail. This is essential if planners are to encourage genuine participation and, at the same time, create effective institutions.

There were other circumstances that reinforced the general tendency for details to be neglected at Bremen. The political authorities in the *Land* had set the opening date for the new University for autumn 1971 despite the fact that most people involved in the planning did not begin their deliberations until autumn 1970. Within the course of a single year a plan had to be devised, personnel hired, arrangements for enrolling students worked out, physical facilities and library resources provided for, and contacts developed with relevant institutions in Bremen. It is not surprising that many details of the overall plan were not worked out.

In addition to the time pressure, the distracting influence of political attacks on the Bremen Model and on recruitments drained away energy and time which might have been spent on planning. The Bremen Political Senate rejected the appointment of some one-third of the professors nominated by the recruitment committees as well as several planners. In the *Land* election in autumn 1971 the proposed university became a major issue, with the CDU and FDP clearly opposed to the creation of a reform-oriented participatory university. A major reason therefore for the various planning bodies to acquiesce to the opening deadline was that they believed the University could better defend itself once it was in actual operation: professors and students could then join the planners in its defence. Although the victory of the SPD in the *Land* election eased the situation somewhat, attacks on the University and political interference with it were by no means eliminated. Sufficient time and insulation from political pressures, both essential for careful detail planning, were absent in the Bremen case.

IV. THE ADAPTATION STAGE

A. Recruitment

If plans are to be realized, there must be some means to ensure compliance in action and predictability in behaviour. At the same time, encouraging participation renders this more difficult. While the inherent dilemma may be unsolvable, the potential tension may be reduced.

Since the implementation of university reform depends on the action of people, the recruitment process is of great importance. Consequently, not only qualified persons but also those committed to the planners' vision of a reform university had to be recruited. All applicants were asked to submit a short position paper which outlined the way they viewed their prospective work within the framework of the Bremen Model.

Recruitment committees, composed of professors, assistants and students from various universities, selected applicants on the basis of commitment to reform philosophy and qualifications in their particular areas of competence. These decisions were submitted for approval to the relevant planning commission, the University's Founding Senate, and finally to the Land Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs.

Preference was given to those who had previously worked in participatory group situations and had demonstrated an ability to teach in such situations. In addition to an attempt to attract younger, reform-minded academics, the lack of privileges traditionally given to German professors tended to discourage the application of conservative, more established professors. This two-pronged approach was calculated to result in a group of applicants more homogeneous and genuinely committed to reform ideals.

These procedures, aside from whether they facilitated recruitment of people best able to implement the Bremen Model, became involved in other fundamental issues. The authors would characterize the new teaching staff as energetic, genuinely committed,(1) often comparatively young and, in some cases, lacking traditional qualifications. However, they did fit the University's prevailing conception of the new role of teacher. The Bremen Political Senate officially endorsed the University's underlying philosophy,(2) but objected to many proposed strongly left-wing recruitments, and emphasized academic excellence and conventional qualifications. Each of the parties to the resulting conflict, the University and the Senate, suspected the other of using political or ideological standards rather than professional ones to evaluate proposed teaching candidates. In part, however, the conflict was attributable to different conceptions of professional qualifications in a reform university.

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1. Among important exceptions were people from the existing College of Education integrated into the University. Not as committed to the Bremen Model, they have resisted some of its aspects - an ironic result of the reform aimed to raise the status of the training for non-Gymnasium teachers.

2. See the speech given by the President of the Senate to the Bremen Parliament on 2nd September 1970 (quoted in E.-B. Berndt, et al., op.cit., pp. 21 ff.).

A reform university requires highly motivated and innovative personnel, judged by different standards of scholarship and new yardsticks of performance which can only be developed in a difficult and slow process of trial and error. But the University has been lax in formulating such new criteria which would tend to legitimize its selections, and also would contribute to allaying the suspicions of the political authorities. On the other hand these authorities have not demonstrated sympathy for the difficulties involved in developing new criteria. While the University must make progress in this direction, the authorities would have to adopt more flexibility for assessing academic excellence and spell out their basis for rejecting candidates.

Although the University did ultimately get most of the people it wanted, the controversy over the recruitment procedure deflected attention from educational to political matters and caused the University to be under-staffed at a critical time,(1) and it was related to some fundamental questions. For example, the political authorities attempted to treat the University as another governmental bureaucracy dependent upon its financial support, while the University planners and faculty held to the notion of relative autonomy despite this financial tie. Also, the leaders of the city of Bremen and the administrators of its new University, each answer to different constituencies with virtually opposite political cultures. The city authorities, linked to conservative traditions and to local and national political party concerns, expect to arrive at informal understandings between the hierarchy and the University administrators who would see that these understandings are implemented. But this expectation is thwarted by the disestablishment culture, and by the left-wing sentiments of many at the University which favour decisions openly arrived at with mass involvement.

Thus the real differences between the political authorities and some members of the University are exacerbated by poor lines of communication, under-cutting possibilities for empathy on both sides. This is a particularly telling problem at a university which is committed to gaining the co-operation of the community to carry out its "praxis-orientation". This raises some fundamental questions: Can a reform university, based on participation by all, succeed in a conventional community where participation is unequal and limited? How can political authorities operating in a bureaucratic structure empathize with those seeking to create a more egalitarian participatory structure, and vice versa? Will not the established groups in the larger society, who owe their privileges in part to the hierarchical structure of society, seek to defend their interests from the perceived threat posed by the University? And, finally, can such a reform university fail to be critical of the hierarchical structure of the larger society?

In a discussion of the recruitment procedures at Bremen, the efforts made to recruit a particular type of student body must also be examined. Students in Germany traditionally had the freedom to study where they chose once they passed their Abitur. In recent years, however, various disciplines have restricted enrolment and today, universities, faced with the growing influx of students, are restricting admission in general, decisions being based on an applicant's average Abitur grade (numerus clausus). Such a procedure tends to reduce the already low proportion of working class and farmers' children attending university.

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1. Although the University had nominated 79 teachers, only 27 had contracts when it opened. However, many of these committed people began working in October 1971 without contracts, but the prevailing uncertainties interfered with initial plans.

Although Bremen's reform orientation clashed with this class-biased device for restricting enrolments, applications exceeded the number of places available and some criteria for selection had to be established. In addition to the conventional Abitur grades, to offer students from socially under-privileged backgrounds a greater opportunity to attend university, family background and experience since leaving school were also taken into account. The political authorities, however, because of pressure for uniform criteria from other Länder have made it difficult for the University to accept as many under-privileged students as planned. (1)

In addition, the reform image of Bremen attracted the applications of reform-oriented students at other universities. Several were appointed as "tutors" and, as such, often served as more formidable role models for their student peers than did teachers. Some of the tutors, becoming convinced that the "praxis-orientation" was merely a technocratic device for turning out better trained technicians, began to undermine the philosophy. Such individuals were apparently more concerned with a radical restructure of society, or at least with theoretical discussions thereof, than with the preparation of students for future occupational roles. It is expected that as more new students enter the University the influence of the older cadre of tutors will decline.

B. Socializing the Newcomers

At Bremen, many came predisposed in a general way towards a participatory university. The question then arises as to how to ensure that the individuals thus recruited live up to expectations: How are people socialized into their appropriate role behaviour?

A major circumstance which contributed to the socialization of the faculty was the difference in terms of longevity between the planners and the faculty. For the first year the University was composed, in a full-time sense, of the planners coupled with an embryonic administration. Their small number, their relative isolation from the larger community, their relatively homogeneous outlook, their sense of dedication, the politically motivated attacks against them and the intense pressure under which they worked all contributed to create a camaraderie and a strong sense of identification with the new University which, after all, they had been instrumental in designing. The faculty also were newcomers to Bremen but with somewhat more varied backgrounds and orientations. They came into a university that already existed, but that was new and somewhat confusing. There were no "veteran" teachers who could initiate them. Furthermore, an unusually large number had never held a university professorship before.

In such a situation it was only natural for the faculty to turn to the previously resident group at the University who, at the same time, had helped design it. They possessed information regarding specific areas and their relation to the more comprehensive picture as well as co-operation with the local school system. There were frequent plenary meetings

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1. Studies from other countries have indicated that University students from working-class backgrounds are more likely to view education as a means for expanding occupational opportunities than are middle-class students. This emphasis on education as a vehicle for upward social mobility often makes working-class students more pragmatic and less critical of the role of the University. Therefore the reform urge might result ironically in the recruitment of students who turn out to be relatively conservative in outlook.

of teachers, students and planners which facilitated this flow of information. Although in most measures of status (age, income, degrees and career position), the teacher group excelled, the fact that the planners were better informed, coupled with the egalitarian ethos that reigned, served to orient teachers towards the planners. In such a situation persons with greater-than-average access to information and communication networks gain a measure of control over others; normally these are the planners. In this way it is rather easy for the planners, without being manipulative in a negative sense, to induce the newcomers to act in accordance with the plan. Furthermore, they may increasingly be called upon, on a day-to-day basis, to integrate the institution's activities, thereby augmenting their ability to induce conformity with desired behaviour.

In an institution dedicated to genuine participation by all, coercive or manipulative attempts to ensure compliance would seriously undermine the very essence of the institution. The planners' dilemma of wanting to see their plans implemented while at the same time wanting to refrain from manipulating the participants is partly resolved by recruitment of the "right sorts" of individuals to staff the organisation. They must then be supplied with appropriate information, and finally details of the overall plan should be worked out by the participants themselves.

V. THE REDESIGNING STAGE

Once a new institution has been in existence for a period of time, informal, unplanned patterns of behaviour develop from which emerge informal norms concerning how things should be run. At this stage, unlike the previous "adaptation" stage, plans are redesigned to fit better peoples' needs and the exigencies of events. In what way have Bremen's original intentions been modified where they have proved inadequate in the light of experience?

Organisations built around a participatory ideal presumably should be more willing to alter original plans in the light of demands made by the participants and to meet new needs not anticipated in the original design. An obstacle, however, could conceivably be the planners themselves who might well resist a change in their design, despite grassroots dissatisfaction. At Bremen this potential dilemma was partially avoided because the original planners were genuinely committed to the notion that decisions should be made by all. Furthermore, the teachers and students recruited would have been extremely resistant to authoritarian directives from above.

A third factor which contributed to minimize the resistance was that planners were given only two-year contracts with no assurance of renewal. Thus, while the institution of planning continued beyond the first two years, all the personnel did not. Teachers, on the other hand, received longer term, often life-time, appointments. The latent consequences of this differential succession rate for planners and teachers is that the transfer of influence occurs with minimal organisational and personal struggles. Nevertheless, this solution may come at a cost. New planners will operate under an informational handicap making continuity in planning difficult and over time the influence of the planners is likely to recede while that of the more senior teachers and administrators increases. This suggests the need for organisational structures which would prevent the latter from becoming an autonomous power base, given their greater permanency, and would protect the participation of the

University's more transcient residents. To date, insufficient attention has been given to developing countervailing mechanisms which would redress the potential imbalance of power.

The role of the planners at Bremen, now that the University is in full operation, has been broadened. They spend their full-time energies not only in planning but also in integrating activities. Now that the University has grown from an initial 500 students to 1,300, with some 100 teachers, co-ordination has become an even more crucial activity. The planners are also engaged in programme evaluation and serve, in a consulting capacity, the various University committees.

The concept of openly-arrived-at decisions has, in reality, been implemented at Bremen. No one is barred from attending any meeting regardless of the issue being discussed. Nevertheless, equal access to information has not led to equal possession of information. This situation is created by the convening and cancellation of meetings at very short notice as well as the poor co-ordination of information.

The particular circumstances at Bremen - newness of the University, lack of planning detail and criticism from outside forces - gave rise to the need for frequent meetings, often times hurriedly arranged. The participatory ethos of the University contributed to meetings being valued in and of themselves and therefore raised the danger of goal displacement: the institutionalized means to realize organisational goals become transformed into goals themselves.

The second factor, poor co-ordination of information, is partly attributable to the decentralized nature of the University, the overtaxed time schedules of the planners, and the frequency with which meetings were called at very short notice. The lack of official information led to a considerable reliance on informal channels for information. Since individuals differed in their access to these channels, it is not surprising that information was unequally distributed throughout the university community.

In this way the image of equal access and equal possession of information envisioned in the original plan became distorted in reality. Little has been done to plan and implement new means for redressing the imbalance. Unequal amounts of information, in turn, can be transformed into unequal distributions of power. The structure of this inequality, however, is more covert in nature than in hierarchically structured organisations where the communication network is designed to augment the authority of the formal leadership.

In participatory structures, leadership positions are informally assumed by those who possess the necessary information and have the time, energy and personality required for such activities. Usually these are young people who have fewer personal or community involvements. Since an exceptionally large number of people attracted to Bremen were relatively young, the University enjoyed a very high degree of participation.* However, a result of this may be erratic fluctuations in the informal leadership structure as individuals, for various reasons, abandon their leadership roles. In general then a wider variety of people assume leadership positions in participatory structures and there is more turnover of such leadership than in hierarchical structures. More thought should be given to the implications of this change for the effectiveness of participatory organisations in realizing their stated goals.

The fact that the plans for Bremen lacked details led to a certain amount of confusion concerning the content of Projects. Despite large investments of time in meetings, a number of Projects tended to flounder if not disintegrate; often they became divided into a number of smaller sub-projects to which people attached themselves. Difficulties arose in defining the division of responsibility among members and over time individuals tended to gravitate together on the basis of personal attraction or ideological beliefs. Contrary to the original intentions the groupings so formed became the bases around which projects were built and to some extent determined the nature of Projects. Of course, the unpredictable composition of the Projects has made their co-ordination almost impossible.

The inability of the University to evolve some device by which the Projects would be more detailed beforehand and better co-ordinated reflects a dilemma of participatory organisations. By viewing participation as an end in itself one refrains from controlling the actions of others: but in so doing the chances for realizing the goals for which the organisation was created are endangered. Is it possible for well-intentioned people who believe in participation to resolve this dilemma?

We have previously detailed the impact of the outside world on the internal dynamics of planning and the early operation of Bremen University. There we saw the difficulties created for the University by a sometimes hostile political environment and its inability to relate effectively to that environment. These difficulties continue to this very day. The University, nevertheless, has still not made sufficient efforts to contact the outside world. This has prevented the development of empathy for the position of the political authorities on the part of most University people, and vice versa.

Many factors constraining greater communication and contact between the University and the community have already been discussed. The major impediment, however, to improving the relationship is a difference in ideological outlook. The University is quite clearly left-oriented, while a number of the political authorities and the general community have a more middle road, if not conservative, orientation. The political authorities appear concerned lest the University become a bastion of extreme radicalism intent on undermining the established order. While the SPD is somewhat sympathetic to a reform university which is sensitive to the workers' plight, they oppose revolutionary upheaval.

The political establishment as well as the general community tend to see the University as more monolithic than it is in reality. Furthermore, they see the University as partly their University and are concerned about their lack of influence. The University community, by and large, view the political establishment as being more homogeneous than is the case. They also see the University as belonging exclusively to them and deeply resent interference by the political authorities; for example, they do not want to extend participation in University affairs beyond the confines of the University. The University wants to develop individuals who are critical of present-day society and who will carry this critical attitude into their future work, while many in the community want the University to accept the current occupational structure. These conflicts of interest are manifested in struggles between the University and the community, but the bitterness and the distance between the various parties may well be exacerbated by the failure of many at the University to establish ties with the community. Possibly the ideological undertones of the student movement, which helped make Bremen possible, currently prevent it from becoming part of the community for fear of co-optation and loss of ideological purity.

A number of advocates of widespread participation on an equal footing in organisations look to the left for the source of their ideological values. This fact can result in the merging of a generally left-oriented ideology with notions of genuine participation in organisational life. In turn, ideological conservatives in the larger community might be led to oppose greater participation by lower-echelon personnel, mostly out of fear that the participatory ethos is ultimately directed against their privileged positions and not restricted merely to increasing participation within particular organisations. The case study of Bremen illustrates how such a development generates a hostile environment which undermines both the participatory ethos at the University and its attempts to introduce aspects of reform into the larger community. Perhaps, in the present state of society, advocacy of genuine participation must of necessity be linked to political ideology, in which case a formidable problem is posed for the development of participatory educational organisations.

XII

PARTICIPATORY PLANNING IN PRACTICE: THE COLLEGIATE SYSTEM AT THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK/BUFFALO (SUNYAB)

by

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I. INTRODUCTION:
FINDINGS OF THE BUFFALO PARTICIPATORY EXPERIMENT

This paper describes and analyses the Collegiate System (C. S.) at the State University of New York at Buffalo (SUNYAB), one of the few examples of participatory planning in practice.

Based on experience in Buffalo, it argues:

- that participatory planning is neither an alternate nor a separate form of planning but that it is a necessary element in any rational planning for large, complex systems of education;
- that participatory planning requires a reduction of the compulsory aspects of educational systems; in fact, participatory planning is a process for the creation of reasonable alternatives where they are needed if participation is indeed to be more voluntary;
- that participatory planning requires the careful development and maintenance of procedures of self-criticism;
- that participatory planning must be conceived of as a self-modifying process.

To explain the place of participatory planning in systems of education, value systems identified with "prefigurative" and participatory planning respectively are developed. On the basis of these alternate value systems, it is argued that there are no unambiguous goals for educational institutions. Educational environments are characterized by a fundamental ambiguity of goals which can best be explained in terms of the value systems of prefigurative versus participatory planning. Institutional growth has destroyed the careful balance between these conflicting values which existed in small institutions of education. Formal recognition of participatory processes is presented as a means of re-establishing the desirable balance between these value systems. This process of destruction by growth and subsequent recreation through participatory structures is then illustrated in terms of a theory of the time phase of large systems and system indeterminacy.

Against this background of planning theory and practical experience, a number of problems and benefits of participatory planning become evident:

- Wherever participatory processes are legitimized there will be conflict between participatory and hierarchical attitudes. In view of the necessarily ambiguous role of education this conflict must be viewed as beneficial if it is properly understood and generally accepted.
- Formal recognition of participatory planning will create an initial confusion of standards and problems in evaluating success or failure. In so far as these problems reflect actual ambiguities they are to be preferred to the artificial certitude of traditional measures.

- Instructors will have to be trained to be teachers since they carry an additional responsibility in participatory environments. This would represent a reversal of the long term trend toward a reduction of the individual responsibility of teachers by detailed prescription of conduct and instructional content.
- Participatory planning promises an increase in the financial efficiency of educational institutions.
- Participatory planning promises an increase in the pedagogical effectiveness of educational institutions.
- Participatory planning promises an improvement of current planning procedures.

II. PARTICIPATORY EXPERIMENTS IN THE USA

As already stated, this paper deals with one of the rare examples of participatory planning in practice. Whereas participation in planning is widely realized, participatory planning procedures have hardly even been fully conceptualized. Provisions for participation in planning assume a pre-existent planning process which is made more accessible, not only to humanize it but also to improve it so as to reassert its authority over subsequent events. Parent-teacher organisations and most schemes for student participation in school or university governance are of this nature. Procedures for participation in planning further assume that potential objectors can be co-opted into acquiescence with the planning process. While this is not necessarily either a false or an evil assumption it leaves quite untouched the determinative character of the resultant planning document. Since no plan ever claims to be fully determinative, we shall refer to this kind of planning as prefigurative planning, as opposed to the kind of participatory planning we shall describe. Providing for participation in prefigurative planning is as vital as it has always been. This paper does not argue for the abolition of prefigurative planning, and such planning certainly requires measures for participation.

The critical difference between prefigurative planning and participatory planning is that rather than plan outcomes, the participatory planning activity restricts itself to developing a procedure by which initially undetermined outcomes may be achieved. Participatory planning has been defined as the "organisation of a sustained social process characterized by an increasing engagement in policy and autonomy in action of the individuals lowest in the organisational scale". For purposes of initial identification, one might point out that the open classroom school, allowing students to determine their individual syllabuses on a day-to-day basis co-operatively with their teachers, is a rudimentary example of participatory planning.

In recent years, several experiments in participatory planning have been initiated at universities in the United States. The best known and most elaborately constructed of these is Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington. The School of Education of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst has been reconstructed along these lines and Empire State College, New York State's "open university" is being developed in much the same way. In addition, there are hundreds of experimental enclaves at universities around the United States which are giving their students and faculty substantial autonomy in the development of their work, ranging from the Residential College at the University of Michigan to the now defunct Bensalem College of Fordham University. A comprehensive catalogue and taxonomy of these institutions seems urgently needed if their experiences are to prove of any use to other institutions. The largest of these experiments to date is the Collegiate System at the State University of New York at Buffalo (SUNYAB).

The size of the Collegiate System (C. S.) is directly related to its peculiar structure. While at Evergreen the entire institution is determined by participatory processes, in most other cases only a carefully isolated enclave is affected. What distinguishes the C. S. from most other intra-institutional experiments is the fact that no definite boundary was created between participatory and hierarchical environments (the only comparable situation exists in Tufts University's experimental programme). Consequently, the Buffalo experiment reflects many of the transitional problems which may be anticipated in any attempt at introducing participatory planning processes into an otherwise hierarchically organised environment.

III. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLLEGIATE SYSTEM

A. Characteristics of SUNYAB

SUNYAB is a rather typical large American, urban, commuter, state university, the kind of institution now being attended by a majority of all students enrolled in university-type programmes in the United States. SUNYAB is one of the four university-type institutions in the State University of New York (SUNY) system, the largest higher education system under a single central administration in the United States. Twenty-five thousand students are enrolled at SUNYAB in over one hundred departments organised into seven Faculties. Of these, nearly twenty thousand are candidates for the bachelor's degree, fifteen thousand as full-time students. The university confers virtually every known academic degree.

Like every other university in the United States, SUNYAB has a clearly hierarchical authority structure: all actions of administrators and faculty members are strictly advisory to the President who is responsible to the Board of Trustees as the university's "chief executive officer". At SUNYAB, however, there exists an additional buffer between President and Board of Trustees in the SUNY administration under a Chancellor.

B. The Collegiate System

1. The Process of Definition

The somewhat misleading name of the experiment we are describing evokes visions of Colleges at Oxford, Cambridge, Harvard or Yale. This reflects the origins of the C. S. in a rather traditional project to organise "Colleges", residential living/learning units, as a means of breaking down an outsize university and providing faculty and students with academic environments on a more human scale. Under the intense pressure of students who were increasingly unwilling to participate in structured institutional residences, the original plan was modified. Instead of creating academic units with specific plans and procedures, the Faculty Senate of SUNYAB took the unprecedented step of defining a procedure for the establishment, operation and disestablishment of short-term academic units on the sole initiative of groups of faculty and students. By renouncing any attempt at predetermining the structure and content of these units beyond the broadest of guidelines, the university delegated substantial planning authority to the actual participants, thereby creating the possibility of participatory planning within a hierarchical institution.

The university did not (since it could not) delegate any authority regarding the definition and accreditation of degree programmes. By this means, the C. S. could exist without the explicit sanction of the Board of Trustees, which might very well have refused to lend support to the experiment in its initial stages. As a consequence, however, the C. S. could address itself only to that portion of a student's time not spent in fulfilling explicitly defined degree requirements. Since SUNYAB, like most other universities in the United States, had recently significantly liberalized its degree requirements, leaving a much greater proportion of the total required courses at the discretion of the student, this regulation left the C. S. a reasonable amount of latitude. At the same time, the restriction of the C. S. to a student's "electives" provided the limiting factor to the growth of the C. S.: effectively it meant that no student could take much more than 33% of his courses through the C. S. for credit. Since students would be taking collegiate courses voluntarily and since not all students would be taking them in the first place, it was further estimated that this imposed an upper limit on the growth of the C. S. corresponding to 10-15% of the total undergraduate instructional programme.

2. The development of the C. S. 1970-72

The C. S. proved popular among students. Within two years it comprised sixteen collegiate units with an enrolment of about 3,500 students per semester, corresponding to approximately 5% of the total undergraduate instructional programme. The development was not, however, a linear one: after beginning with a complement of fifteen units, several were added, several phased out of existence, and virtually all substantially modified as time passed. Characteristically, the collegiate units were more dependent upon the changing membership than upon binding predetermined plans. Two units may serve here as examples for the kinds of goals which were set and the activities which were undertaken: Rachel Carson College and Women's Studies College.

A nucleus of Rachel Carson College already existed before the C. S. was established in 1970. In December of that year, a College Statement was prepared which said that "Rachel Carson College undertakes to promote awareness and understanding of the environment and how it operates and interacts with man. We believe that in order to promote environment studies, we must have more than one discipline involved in our studies. The College intends to further educational programmes through the classroom, the laboratory, field work and in the community. To promote environmental awareness, we intend to take every opportunity to generate concern both within the community and the university. To further this aim we propose to work on problems relevant to and posed from within the community, thus furthering the service role of the university. Initiatives from the community might originate with legislators, community action groups, concerned individuals, industries and regulatory agencies." In the course of the following two years, the College pursued several tracks simultaneously: it developed a programme of its own, providing courses which supplemented existing offerings within the departments or were of a character that they would not otherwise have been offered (including for instance a series of courses on environmental survival techniques). It made an effort to co-ordinate existing departmental course offerings into a coherent programme both for students wishing to develop an area of concentration in environmental studies and for those seeking information for a broadening of their own understanding of environmental issues. It undertook a number of investigative projects in the Buffalo region. In mid-1972, it gained access to a substantial tract of wilderness land which it planned to develop into a wilderness area for field work purposes. It participated in several environmental projects within the university, ranging from the organisation of a conference, to the preparations for "Earth Day" in 1971. Internally, the College established governance procedures and proceeded to attract a number of faculty members who were not initially associated with its programme. There was a fair amount of conflict on campus concerning the most appropriate vehicle for environmental programmes, with competition among several departments and the College. Consequently, not all aspects of the College's programme could be realized by the end of 1972. It had become evident, however, that it provided an ideal vehicle for initiating programmes which did not fit into any one department or faculty, and for articulating student curriculum demands. The College was also preparing plans for operating a residence facility within the foreseeable future. All of this work had been accomplished on a minimal budget, carried primarily by the high level of commitment among both students and faculty involved.

Women's Studies College was initiated only in the Spring of 1971 as a collegiate unit, although it drew on a number of already existing courses and programmes around the university which were co-ordinated as the College's nucleus. The initial prospectus stated: "Education in American universities is often the study of the cultural and historical development of the middle and upper class white male. Neglected in the curriculum are the culture and struggles of groups who, out of their oppression, sought to change society. Women are one of these oppressed groups. We have been subjected to an educational system which has reinforced the stereotypic images of women as passive, dependent, unintellectual and unable to analyze and understand our own position in society. Education has not taught women the skills necessary to have a critical understanding of how society operates. The lack of this knowledge reinforces our sense of inferiority and is used to justify our oppression.

"We must therefore create our own education, an education that will begin to meet our needs as women. This education will not be an academic exercise; it will be an on-going process to change the ways in which we think and behave. It must be a part of our struggle to build a new and more complete society. In creating our own education, we must raise questions, issues and problems that will require careful definition and analysis. The development of our abilities to engage in these tasks will call for more talents and tools than any single discipline can provide. Therefore, an interdisciplinary effort is crucial to enable the college to gather data concerning women which is presently isolated and fragmented in various departments of the university. It would serve the purposes of giving clarity and organisation to the data, of increasing research in new and neglected areas, and of making this knowledge available to both university and community women.

"The Women's Studies College is run by and for the students taking Women's Studies courses and the people teaching them. Regular meetings will be held throughout the year and everyone involved in the college is encouraged to participate."

The work of the college, which currently is the largest programme in women's studies in the United States, during the first year concentrated in four areas: establishment of internal governance procedures; development of collegiate courses; influencing departments and inducing them to develop courses which would complement the collegiate programme; development of community links.

Again, the college developed with minimal initial resources, although in this instance some help could be provided through co-operative agreements with departments, since there was not the element of competition inherent in the development of the Rachel Carson College. The real problem here was finding the resources to expand the programme in accordance with the high student demand.

These lengthy quotations from the self-descriptions of two colleges have been included for illustrative purposes. In the course of this paper, we shall refer back to these two examples from time to time. Some typical elements in the Colleges' programmes are already evident here: the lack of predetermination, the dependence on high levels of commitment, the rapid change and great flexibility, the lack of identification with any traditional department or discipline, the willingness to experiment.

IV. THE OPERATION OF THE C. S.

A. The Constitutive Document

The surprising fact in this whole development is the willingness of the Faculty Senate to constitute the kind of open-ended experiment which the C. S. represents. A major factor was undoubtedly the severe student pressure which was at its absolute height in April 1970 when the constitutive document was before the Senate for consideration. Specifically, this document states:

I) "Collegiate units shall provide additional dimensions to education at the State University of New York at Buffalo that supplement and complement existing programmes. The development of collegiate units will be a continuing process within SUNY policies, taking into account the educational needs of all members of the university and drawing upon resources both within and without the university community. Collegiate units are not necessarily residential in character; they may exist as groupings within the university pursuing shared educational objectives."

II. 5) "The Collegiate System shall be a budget-initiating system of the university. It shall be funded in proportion to the contribution of the collegiate units to the University's educational goals."

III. 1) "Collegiate units may be proposed by any group of students, faculty or staff at SUNYAB. The Assembly (a representative policy-making body of the C. S. itself) will review such proposals with respect to such matters as: educational objectives; resources that would be needed for the implementation of programmes; other pertinent considerations. The establishment of a collegiate unit will occur upon approval by the Assembly, subject to such conditions as the Assembly may provide."

III. 3) "Collegiate units may offer credit-bearing programmes ... Collegiate units may also provide programmes on a credit-free basis."
III. 4) "Collegiate units may encourage the affiliation of faculty members from other parts of the university ... Collegiate units may appoint Fellows, whose term of appointment shall not give rise to tenure commitments."
III. 5) "Internal governance of collegiate units will be determined by themselves, consistent with the policies of the Assembly."
III. 6) "A collegiate unit may disestablish itself, upon notification to the Assembly."

These basic rules, simple as they are, create a complex network of relationships since the C. S. thus defined remained an integral part of the sponsoring institution. While the rules themselves did indeed create a significant realm of freedom of planning and action for "the individuals lowest in the organisational scale" of the university, namely, any group of students, faculty or staff rather than specifically authorized delegates of the student body or the faculty or officers of the university, the boundaries of this realm were left permeable. In spite of the fact that the constitutive document did not contain a single binding prescriptive rule governing the programme or governance of the C. S., it embodied a number of implicit institutional controls at the boundary-points between the C. S. and the sponsoring institution. These became focal points of controversy in the further development of the C. S.

B. Operational Procedures

1. Boundary Problems

The phrase "within SUNY policies" in the constitutive document was the catch-all under which the authority of the president of SUNYAB could at any time be reasserted. It was occasionally adduced to indicate the limits of possible experimentation: for instance, when attempts were made to introduce self-evaluative procedures for individual students other than orthodox individual grading by the instructor or in the single instance where the Assembly moved to authorize the establishment of a collegiate unit the administration considered insupportable. Use of this ultimate authority was, however, an expedient of last recourse since it invariably precipitated a major crisis in the relationship of the C. S. to the administration.

A further point of contention was the necessary budgetary provision for the C. S. Funds had to be negotiated from the administration and at various times there were threats of cutting off funds from specific units. Over the last two years, the university experienced noticeable shrinkage of available resources. At the same time, the C. S. experienced rapid growth. Consequently, it remained excessively underfunded throughout, even though there was a slight increase in available funds, contrary to the university-wide trend. The meagre resources which were available were subject to considerable internal reallocation once they had been secured from the administration. In this process, participatory procedures were maintained to the maximum extent possible. The experience of operating two years at a fraction of regular funding levels in relation to normal workloads, indicated that such an operation is feasible only in a participatory environment where consent to an essentially intolerable situation can be achieved. The critical point in relation to the budgetary relationships with the university was, however, that the C.S. succeeded in preventing any attempt to use budget as a means of exerting systematic external programme control.

Course review procedures. While collegiate units could offer courses, these were, with few exceptions for particularly experimental ventures, subject to external review prior to being offered. This obviously had some effect on the directions in which courses were developed and caused a fair amount of dissension. On the other hand, this procedure also offered some advantages since it allowed the C.S. to force some issues it considered vital into university-wide consideration. An example of this is the role of students in the teaching process: the C.S. wanted to reduce the oppositional relationship between student and teacher by accepting students fairly rapidly into teaching roles under varying degrees of supervision. This caused a great deal of dispute.

Recruitment of faculty to participate in the C.S. The C.S. could appoint its own instructors to short-term contracts (1-3 years). In addition, it could "encourage" the affiliation of faculty members from other parts of the university. Initially, this created budgetary problems: since faculty work-load expressed in "student credit hours" was the basis of all budgeting, it was important that the academic unit providing a faculty member's salary also receive appropriate credit for his or her teaching outside the department. Once this in practice very difficult technical matter had been resolved, a more fundamental conflict developed: by transferring part of their teaching activities to collegiate units, the faculty members were effectively criticizing the ability of the departments to provide them with optimal teaching environments. Even though this was the starting assumption in the creation of the C.S., it was still an unpleasant truth for departments, strongly oriented towards disciplinary standards, to face. In the end, several departments refused to co-operate and either demanded reimbursement of faculty effort or refused to count faculty work in the Colleges as part of their regular teaching load. Many faculty members ended up teaching in the Colleges on a voluntary basis. In this situation the ultimate ability of the C.S. to recruit its own instructors, when priorities dictated, provided a critical element of independence. Initially, this complex of problems seems to derive from the characteristically American form of faculty organisation and budgeting. This is not the case: what is reflected here is a fundamental difference in ordering priorities (participant definition versus disciplinary definition). In universities with high levels of autonomy for the individual faculty members, conflicts will arise if an instructor orients his or her teaching towards group needs rather than fulfilling some predetermined curriculum. Colleagues will view this as increasing their teaching-load since they conceive of a required minimum curriculum which needs to be maintained.

All of the boundary problems of the C.S. and the sponsoring institution ultimately focused on the office of the director of the C.S. Strictly construed, this position required the director to accept overall administrative responsibility for the C.S. as defined in the hierarchical university structure, while internally the necessary authority to make decisions rested not with the director but was shared between him and the Collegiate Assembly. One can hardly encourage people to participate in the decision-making of a single unit without conceding significant levels of participation in the system-wide decision-making processes. On the other hand, this participatory mode ran directly counter to the university-wide practice of considering all actions of representative bodies as strictly advisory. Here the distinction between participatory planning and participation in planning becomes vital. This conflict was ultimately carried out around the office of the director. It represented the institutional intersection of two mutually exclusive organisational principles. In practice, this theoretically impossible situation could only be bridged by continuous adjustments on all sides to the realities of the fixed parameters of the C.S. within SUNYAB. Even so, this clash of principles led to several serious disputes in which the decision-making process was as much at issue as the decisions themselves.

It should be emphasized, however, that such conflict is not necessarily detrimental. Certain levels of conflict certainly improve the quality of decision-making, provided the legitimacy, both of the contesting principles and of the resultant resolution, is recognized. This could not always be achieved. Even so, one can fairly comment that the creation of such conflict is one of the potential benefits of a participatory environment in hierarchical institutions which have a tendency to eliminate discussion of fundamental issues from the decision-making process at too early a stage.

2. Internal Governance

In designing its internal governance, the C.S. had to take the boundary problems into account. Because of his position in the university hierarchy, the director had a potentially damaging authority at his disposal. The design of the internal governance structure ultimately revolved around the Assembly and its committees. Basically, role differentiation was achieved not by *a priori* role assignment but by the construction of internal governance as an information flow system. Since access to information becomes the major factor in determining input in participatory structures, the formal mechanisms of governance were designed with the primary purpose of maintaining a consistent flow of information to all interested parties. In practice, this design could not be carried through for lack of funds but many of the difficulties which were encountered in operating the C.S. could be recognized as soluble under the initial process which was envisaged. As a matter of fact, most participants were convinced that this system design was a necessary correlate to processes of participatory governance. The special role of the director was then defined by his, or her, privileged and secure access to all sources of information both within and without the C.S.

In spite of the manifold difficulties attendant on such an experiment, it was already possible to recognize a variety of important contributions such a participatory system could make and some of the underlying principles of its development. In the course of working with the constitutive document, a number of peculiarities in the SUNYAB situation emerged as probably vital to any successful participatory planning process.

V. MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF THE C.S.

If we consider the participatory nature of the C.S. as its primary principle, there are two important secondary characteristics which determined the course of the experiment: permeability in its relationship to the sponsoring institution and temporariness. It was rapidly recognized that participatory structures had to be temporary, that is not bound by long-term definitions. Otherwise participation would have remained a first-generation phenomenon with following student generations bound by decisions taken in an initial participatory phase. Consequently the C.S. operated on a year-by-year basis, reviewing its entire programme every year. Obviously such review did not imply that everything had to be changed, even though it put everything to question. The constitutive document already pointed in this direction by stipulating that no collegiate appointments give rise to tenure. Under the rules governing most United States institutions of higher education, this meant that appointments could be made for no longer than three years at a time or a total of six years for any individual, consequently reducing the institutional rigidities normally created by low staff turnover. Together, the permeability and temporary nature of the C. S. had a number of important consequences.

A. Lack of Clear Boundaries

Since the constitutive document defined no explicit limits, the participatory environment was left to grow or contract in accordance with student and faculty demand for such participation. In other words, participatory rules covered not only activities within the environment of the C. S. but also the size of the C. S. itself. This meant that the participatory planning process could in fact change the internal balance of SUNYAB to a certain extent, not only the internal functioning of a carefully isolated portion of the sponsoring institution. At the same time the C. S. was not protected by artificial props: since no minimum size was guaranteed, the success or failure of the entire venture effectively depended on the willingness of individuals to participate voluntarily.

B. Voluntarism

It would seem fairly obvious that voluntarism is a necessary correlate of participatory planning: nobody can be coerced into participation except by the most indirect of social pressures (this corresponds to the impossibility of legislating participation in elections in a democracy). In fact this is one of the main problems of participatory experiments, in two respects:

- To maintain the clearly voluntaristic character of participation, it is necessary that the extrinsic rewards of participation not be excessive, particularly in terms of status or financial benefit. It is easier to destroy a participatory structure by overfunding than by underfunding.
- This would not be the case if the general environment of higher education were more voluntaristic in nature. Large parts of our educational systems are, however, compulsory or only superficially voluntary by virtue of being without reasonable alternatives. For such voluntary or compulsory systems, hierarchical structures are important as a reliable means for securing compliance. Many of the participants in the SUNYAB experiment were acutely aware of the inherent contradiction between the voluntaristic nature of the C. S. and their own sense of involuntary attendance at the institution as a whole. In the long run, the existence of sub-systems such as the C. S. within hierarchical institutions can only be viewed as a transitional expedient: either the voluntaristic principle (rather than the participatory one which is its structural equivalent) gains more widespread acceptance and realization or the C. S. and experiments like it will be destroyed by the contradictions of their own existence. In the final chapter of this paper, we will attempt

to show that greater efficiency and greater educational effectiveness are the major reasons for giving more widespread acknowledgement to voluntarism.

C. Pressures on the C. S. - Problems and Benefits

The C. S. was open (and in fact subject) to rather severe pressure from the sponsoring institution, primarily on account of budgetary and curricular control procedures. While this led to sometimes sharply antagonistic relationships and considerable out-group hostility within the C. S., these pressures also contributed to achieving a high level of self-critical awareness. On balance, experience suggests that the latter advantage outweighed the former liabilities, which have also been observed in experiments with carefully protected autonomy. All in all, the forces operating on the C. S. tended to reduce the dangers of the "sand-box" and the "fish-bowl" effect inherent in much educational experimentation: the "sand-box" effect is caused by excessive protection of the experiment which consequently tends to lose touch with reality; the "fish-bowl" effect derives from participants' self-congratulatory awareness of undertaking an unusual venture. They will consequently act in ways not consistent with attitudes one might normally expect. Often temporary improvements in attitude or learning may be observed which cannot be maintained once the stimulus of high visibility is removed. In establishing educational experiments, it is vital that adequate means for reality testing be incorporated. Constant exposure to critical pressures, based on the application of previous procedures, is in very many respects unfair, but it is also an effective way of achieving awareness of the state of the experiment in relation to its broader environment.

D. Self-critical Procedures

The pressures on the C. S. contributed to the realization of the importance of non-adversary, self-critical review procedures as an integral part of any participatory experiment. It is vital not only to assure participation in the formulation and execution of a project, but also to assure that the results are reviewed and that the review is equally participatory in form. The latter process is much more difficult to initiate and maintain than the initial one. It is, however, critical in maintaining the continuing viability of a process once it has been initiated and it constitutes one of the major pedagogical benefits of participatory education. For purposes of this review, the existence of many diverse collegiate units was important since it increased the chances of obtaining all critical points of view from within the C. S. prior to the initiation of external review.

E. System Flexibility

It is extremely difficult for individuals to face failure. Apparently, it is even more so for groups. The instances where collegiate units were phased out or substantially transformed to account for failures (which will occur in any major experiment of this kind) required disproportionate energy to cope with these matters. This investment in time was justified in terms of its pedagogical benefits and of its importance to the continued viability of the C. S. Again, the existence of a multiplicity of units proved crucial since it allowed rather aggressive internal criticism without jeopardizing the foundations of the entire system. Most educational experiments can be initiated only on the basis of a detailed operational plan. Since this plan becomes a condition of the experiment's existence, its modification is virtually impossible without jeopardizing the entire venture, and this in turn becomes an obstacle to self-criticism, particularly under circumstances where adversary forces may be expected to come into play. Under the non-substantive, procedural constitutive document of the C. S., such modification of individual collegiate units was possible without becoming a threat to the system. As a matter of fact, the system's ability to identify and remedy problems became one of its best justifications. The experience of the C. S. suggests emphatically that participatory planning can only be conceived of as a self-modifying process.

F. Rapid Feedback to the Whole University

The permeability of the boundaries of the C. S. to the sponsoring institution assured that rapid feedback could be achieved from successful experiments to the "regular" university structure.

This particular feature made the C. S. an ideal forum for experimentation: limited experiments (such as a course) or comprehensive plans (such as proposals for a new unit) could be tried out and evaluated within the C. S. After a period, a decision could be taken to terminate the experiment after non-adversary review, continue within the C. S. (for instance, because the experiment even after proving successful did not fit into a single department or faculty) or adopt the results in a department or faculty for long-range development. The result is one of the most effective and rational processes of innovation one can conceive of.

VI. PEDAGOGY AND PLANNING IN THE PARTICIPATORY SCHEME OF THE C. S.

Beyond the identification of the major generalizable characteristics of the C. S., the last two years have also provided a number of more general insights into the potential of participatory planning within a more abstract understanding of the problems of planning and pedagogy.

A. Pedagogical Impact of the C. S.

1. Support for Interdisciplinarity

In the last few years, questions concerning the desirability and feasibility of interdisciplinary research and teaching have become increasingly focal in most discussions of the future of higher education. At the same time, it has become manifest that it will prove difficult if not impossible to establish interdisciplinary patterns in existing institutions without in fact creating new interdisciplinary disciplines. This trend can be observed both in the classical interdisciplines (biochemistry, biophysics) and in the newer comprehensive project areas (environmental studies, health systems, socio-technical systems, black studies). Interdisciplinarians are in danger of becoming specialized multi-specialists. In large measure this process is attributable to the organisational dynamics of higher education which require rapid definition of boundaries and long-term projectivity. While the creation of academic structure for interdisciplinary work was not one of the original goals of the C. S., this turned out to be an area in which significant insights were gained.

The experience of the C. S. at SUNYAB shows that participatory procedures necessarily lead to interdisciplinary approaches. The word "interdisciplinary" itself is simply a subject-oriented "disciplinary" expression of the process dynamic created by participatory planning. Conversely, there are also indications that successful interdisciplinary work requires some form of participatory structure. This is true not only because most interdisciplinary work requires the creation of teams (a fact which could be considered a transitory phenomenon while interdisciplinary subject areas are still under definition) but particularly because participatory environments are process-oriented and can consequently resist disciplinary closure for long periods. This is a highly desirable feature in developing interdisciplinary work, since its ultimate rationale must be its ability to achieve results which cannot be achieved within a strictly disciplinary frame of reference. Moreover, most interdisciplinary work is short- or medium-term, project-oriented work; the ability to develop a wide variety of approaches according to the subject, not to force a given question into a pre-existant frame of reference, is the strength of the interdisciplinary approach. Only participatory planning provides the kind of structural flexibility this notion requires. Depending on the nature of the activity (teaching, research or "service") the "participants" will be different groups: in teaching, faculty and students; in research, all members of the research group; in "service" functions, the recipients and the deliverers of the service conjointly.

2. The Value Systems of Planning

It turned out that a large number of the current critical questions facing higher education can be recognized as being interrelated. In the following table, a list of watchwords of the educational debate are associated in their relationship to two possible modes of planning. The two sequences are however interdependent in such a way that any point of entry provides access to the entire sequence.

Prefigurative planning	Participatory planning
curriculum	group
disciplinary	interdisciplinary
structure	process
theory-oriented	project-oriented
specialized	interactional
professional education	general education
certification	self-realization
outer-directed	inner-directed
a-historic	historic
long term	short term
unitary	pluralistic
determinate	indeterminate

Using this tabulation, which is of course highly abbreviated, as a point of reference, several general points can be made. The two networks of interrelationships are not generally recognized, at least not in some of their crucial links. We have already discussed the connections between participatory planning, interdisciplinary work, process orientation and project orientation. General education, where meaningful, is simply interdisciplinary teaching (one of the major reasons why it has so often failed in recent years is that it is not the same as multidisciplinary teaching - accumulation of expertise is not the basis of general education); the notion of self-realization, recently again become fashionable, has always been a vital element of all classical rationales for general education (this particular point is of some importance since it emphasizes that proposals for interdisciplinarity and participatory planning are realizations of some rather traditional ideals in forms appropriate to complex modern educational systems); the nexus between self-realization and inner direction is fairly clear; without denying that self-realization can be achieved in relation to an absolute standard, it recognizes that the individual responses are historically and personally conditioned and valid irrespective of abstractive valuations; consequently the relative indeterminism and value pluralism of such historic realizations. A similar sequence of interdependence can be established for the left-hand side of the tabulation, reflecting rather closely the current value system of educational institutions. The difficulty with such sequences is of course that they are sequential while the interdependencies they describe form a network.

One of the problems which continually confounded the SUNYAB experiment was the difficulty of establishing criteria for evaluation. The desired outcomes on the left and on the right of our tabulation are manifestly different (although, for reasons discussed below, the practical outcomes may be largely overlapping). The C.S. constantly had to fend off attempts to evaluate its work by traditional criteria alone. At the same time, it proved nearly impossible to formulate alternate criteria which could be accepted as valid without accepting the entire right-hand side of the tabulation. Ultimately, four principle emphases were formulated which proved reasonably comprehensible in "traditional" terms: the notion of interdisciplinarity (although one must suspect that its full implications were never thought through by those who accepted the value of interdisciplinary work); general education (always an area where modern universities are acutely aware of their own shortcomings); the theory/practice dichotomy as a reformulation of project orientation (a traditional academic "problem" and consequently acceptable); the provision of "centres of identity" for students and faculty (this had been the origin of the C.S. at SUNYAB). Interestingly, even the most anti-humanistic university still feels compelled to recognize an obligation to provide its members with humane environments for learning, without recognizing that this may eventually run counter to some of its most dearly held values.

3. Ambiguity and Educational Environments

In theory, the value systems outlined by this tabulation are incompatible and the attempt to formulate criteria of performance in one, acceptable by the other, appears on the face of it to have been a deception. In practice, however, they are not the antithetical alternatives they appear to be. The reason for this is not that the two attitudes are not mutually exclusive. The real reason lies in the lack of orthodoxy of practical educational problems. One might even postulate that the ultimate goal of education is to teach students to orient themselves within mutually exclusive value systems simultaneously. One of the problems of hierarchical institutions is their low tolerance for ambiguity whereas it is precisely raised tolerance for ambiguity which characterizes learning environments.

It is paradoxical but true that education has traditionally incorporated inherent contradictions as vital elements of the learning experience. In the present instance, discussions of alternative educational strategies must deal with the necessary balance between the prefigurative and the participatory value systems which any successful educational process implies. This notion is essentially a highly traditional one: education has always served the dual roles of introduction into the enduring values of a society and introduction into the present realities of that society. In terms of prefigurative versus participatory planning, this notion implies that the issue is not to replace prefigurative systems with participatory ones but to modify them to include both approaches simultaneously.

4. The C. S. and Phenomena of Institutional Growth

The problems which have arisen in maintaining a desirable balance between the two approaches are directly related to problems of growth. The list of participatory attributes describes processes which occur naturally in small group environments. Traditionally, the internal dynamics of educational institutions have been characterized by small group dynamics. Consequently, their formal structures were directed at securing those activities which would not occur anyhow and which could not comfortably be left to chance (criteria of disciplinary excellence, formal contacts between student and teacher - courses, standards of inter-group comparability). Anybody who has witnessed small academic bodies, departments for instance, make decisions of manageable proportions (recruitment of new faculty rather than determination of curricula for 1,500 students - something which is clearly beyond the grasp of most departments) knows that while all explicit arguments are in terms of "academic" criteria, there are several layers of implicit group evaluations of character, personality, group compatibility which also affect the outcome of the decisions. These are perfectly normal and mostly legitimate procedures for small group maintenance. They are unplanned and require no procedural protections.

Originally most academic institutions operated much the way individual departments do today. Fifty years ago, the entire faculty of a major university was probably not much more numerous than that of the present English department at SUNYAB. In the process of growth, the small group dynamic has certainly been lost, although most faculty members still tend to conceive of the institutions as a "collegial", informal, self-evident, self-sustaining process. With growth came the necessity to plan. The elements of planning were, however, largely based on somewhat transformed structural elements of the pre-existent institutions and did not pay adequate attention to those aspects of the learning environment which were vital but never formally secured, namely, the small group dynamic which prevented specialization from getting out of hand and preserved a modicum of decency in the way in which people dealt with one another.

In deciding to develop "Colleges" SUNYAB had correctly identified this problem. The initially proposed traditional solution, however, could not meet the requirements of students in the kind of institution that SUNYAB was and in all likelihood will continue to be. The participatory planning process defined by the constitutive document ultimately turned out to be an adequate equivalent to the more traditional concept. As a matter of fact, a number of rather traditional residential collegiate units developed as part of the C. S.

B. The Planning Theory of the C. S.

Modern educational institutions can only be understood as parts of complex interlocking systems. SUNYAB, for instance, is itself best understood as a system. At the same time, it is part of several other systems: the SUNY system; the New York State system of higher education (both public and private institutions); the New York State education system (all levels of education - in New York, this is formally articulated under the Board of Regents); an informal national system of all university-type institutions. In understanding the planning problems of a university such as SUNYAB, certain characteristics of large complex systems become important. To understand the impact of the C. S. on individuals within these systems, we will discuss the concepts of a system's time phase and of system indeterminacy.

1. System Time Phase

Large complex systems have a relatively longer time phase than smaller more simple ones, that is, the time taken between the identification of an issue and its complete resolution is much longer. As a matter of fact, the time phase is prolonged either by increasing complexity or by increasing size. It is virtually self-evident that this factor is a critical by-product of growth in educational institutions and systems. This factor is important in determining an individual's perception of the system's responsiveness. Indeed, a large complex system can be perceived as being highly unresponsive even though it is responding with remarkable speed relative to its built-in time limitations.

The various time phases operating in an educational institution are important in determining whether the institution will be perceived as fulfilling its participants' expectations or not. Given that modern educational institutions are simply large, highly complex systems, one must add that they have some additional problems, deriving primarily from the ambiguity of their value systems discussed above. Generally, lines of authority, even when clearly established by law, tend to be highly confused since one line of authority derives from the hierarchical organisation of the institution and encompassing system while, traditionally, there has always been some acknowledgement of the fact that the interface between teacher and student is privileged and self-legitimating. Decisions typically get lost somewhere between the point where authority is perceived as being imposed from above and where those with legal authority deny their ability to exercise it. This tends to prolong further system-responsiveness beyond what might otherwise be expected.

Essentially, there are four concurrent time phases in effect in educational institutions:

- the budget cycle (normally from 18 to 30 months);
- the attendance cycle (from 3 to 7 years);
- the planning cycle (normally 5 to 10 years);
- the outcome cycle (from 10 to 40 years).

a) The budget cycle. Budgeting normally runs from 18 to 30 months, depending on the amount of lead time required. This is the shortest phase in educational institutions but it also has the greatest tendency to grow longer as institutions grow larger. At SUNYAB, it took 30 months from the first preparations for a budget to the end of the budgeting period (18 months preparation plus 12 months operation).

b) The attendance cycle. This is a highly variable time cycle. It is also critical in determining individual perceptions of the institution's responsiveness. At some institutions in the United States, annual faculty turnover rose to more than 20% at some stage during the 1960s', indicating a faculty attendance cycle of from five to six years. Students are theoretically in attendance on a four-two-three-year rhythm for bachelor's, master's and doctoral programmes. In fact, these times are often greatly extended and subdivided by the dual phenomena of transfer between institutions and part-time study. Effectively, however, students rarely plan for more than two years in advance, not because they lack foresight but because they lack information. Typically, beginning students are confronted by the entire complexity of the institution at the very outset, when they are required to make fundamental decisions about their future without adequate information. Counselling, often proposed as a remedy, does not help since beginning students have no means of testing the reliability of their information and will consequently tend to distrust the advice they get. Most students respond rationally to this dilemma and postpone decisions for several years. This, in turn, contributes to making the effective student attendance cycle at a given institution fairly short.

c) The planning cycle. In most educational systems some form of long-term planning has been undertaken. Generally, this runs on five- or ten-year cycles. In terms of phasing, the fundamental problem of all prefigurative planning is the contradictory requirement of precision and effectiveness: to justify the effort and to have some visible effect other than sanctioning what is happening anyway, a long span such as seven or ten years is desirable; on account of unavoidable planning error, a much shorter span is required to maintain accuracy. The standard solution is a long-term plan with periodic adjustments, but these adjustments underlie much the same contradictory requirements as the original plan. At SUNYAB, there is a ten-year master plan for SUNY which is adjusted every five years.

d) The cycle of educational outcomes. Since virtually all education currently takes place in a block at the beginning of a person's life, the outcomes of this period of education extend for the rest of his or her life. This establishes a long-term cycle of approximately forty years which has been the cause of much reluctance to reform or experiment. In addition, there exists a much shorter cycle of outcomes in some particular subject areas (such as medicine or engineering) where the obsolescence of knowledge requires re-education within ten years. Since this cycle begins at the end of the attendance cycle, the two combined produce a further phase of between 20 and 60 years.

These four time cycles are surprisingly unco-ordinated in most educational systems. Recurrent education is a means of reducing the unnatural length of the outcomes cycle which vitiates much educational planning. The SUNYAB experiment suggests that participatory planning is an effective means of reducing the phasing of the budgetary and planning cycles to correspond to the variations in the attendance patterns. Particularly important is the fact that the phasing of participatory planning remains flexible because it is inherently short-term, and can consequently adjust to meet changes in attendance patterns which are dependent on a variety of personal and societal variables. For this reason, most models of recurrent education incorporate some element of participatory freedom. Not only because adults will not tolerate the kind of predetermination habitually imposed on younger people, but also because it is impossible to pre-determine the patterns of attendance or the areas of demand in recurrent education with an adequate degree of accuracy.

At the same time, the peculiar circumstances of the C.S. assured that the necessary minimum consistency was maintained. What this suggests is that different planning procedures must be developed for long-phase and for short-phase needs, with provision made under each for the effective operation of the other. What the SUNYAB experiment amounted to was the removal by the end of the second year of approximately 5% of the undergraduate curriculum from the constraints of long-phase planning, allowing the institution to respond rapidly and effectively to the changing requirements of its membership, with the possibility of expanding this proportion to 15% in the future.

2. System Indeterminacy

There is no known size limit for social systems in general. On the other hand, in certain complex systems, diseconomies of growth have become increasingly apparent. To understand these phenomena, we will define a concept of system indeterminacy, indicating the degree of error to be expected in any attempt to achieve unambiguous understanding of a system's purpose by attempting to identify its primary goals. We then postulate that the parameters for growth without change in institutional goals are defined by the system's degree of indeterminacy. Essentially what this means is that with system growth, ambiguities tend to be magnified disproportionately: social systems with clear goal definitions can grow to exceedingly large sizes (the profit motive is one such effective definition). In education, no unambiguous definitions exist even though various attempts have been made to develop one. Consequently, educational systems have become increasingly indeterminate as they grow. This tendency has often been counteracted by imposing more or less artificial and rigid definitions of achievement as surrogate values (quantity of publication, degree output or standardized test scores) providing the necessary props for further growth. Under careful analysis, most of these surrogates have been shown to be positively counterproductive: they do not achieve what they claim to do and tend to obscure the real state of affairs. In spite of these surrogates, however, the limits of planned growth appear to have been reached: most educational planners are finding it increasingly difficult to make reasonable quantitative projections. Participatory planning offers itself as an effective device to compensate for system indeterminacy by a corresponding degree of planning indeterminacy through the simple expedient of removing a segment proportional to the degree of system indeterminacy from the constraints of prefigurative planning. In general, one may formulate that the larger an educational institution or system, the greater its degree of indeterminacy; the greater the indeterminacy, the greater the need for participatory planning procedures.

VII. PRACTICAL PROBLEMS AND BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATORY PLANNING IN THE C.S.

The two years of work in the C.S. identified several principal issues. None of these can be said to have been solved but in all of them the experience of the C.S. has indicated directions in which progress may be made in the future. In the case of at least some of these issues, however, it can be seen that participatory planning offered immediate and substantial benefits.

- Interface problems
- Problems of relating evaluation, definition of standards and equal opportunity

- Problems of providing equal opportunity
- Problems of faculty preparation and selection
- Increased financial efficiency
- Increased pedagogical effectiveness
- Improved prefigurative planning from experience gained in participatory, short-term experiments.

A. Interface Problems

These have been discussed extensively in this paper. As long as prefigurative and participatory procedures are maintained conjointly, and this appears to be a desirable long-term prospect, the boundaries between the two will be subject to dispute. Obviously, there is no sharp dividing line: good teaching in a discipline requires high levels of personal commitment, constant adaptability and an openness to other disciplines even though the standards of the discipline may be considered as absolute; a participatory process, on the other hand, is not an end in itself: it requires careful definition and some system of co-ordination which is communicable beyond the immediate reality of the process. Consequently, the distinctions will be ones of relative emphasis. In fact, this makes the boundary problems more acute since all parties can claim to do everything the others try to do. Individuals will typically abstract from their personal struggles and desires rather than try to recognize the character of their actions within the overall context of the system of which they are part. In general, one can say that none of the difficulties one may anticipate in giving greater scope to participatory planning procedures will be managed unless the existing educational institutions learn to be more critically self-aware. At SUNYAB there was a clear tendency for disputes to polarize, which in turn made the boundaries very visible but made it impossible to overcome them. What is urgently required is a comprehensive, multidimensional view of educational processes which enables people to recognize the relative legitimacy of both prefigurative and participatory processes. Even so, the disputes will not end. In fact, where they do not pursue mutually destructive goals, these disputes are themselves a desirable outcome of the introduction of participatory planning processes. Many systems of education urgently require exposure to critical alternatives to existing values and procedures but have been unable to achieve this necessary debate.

B. Problem of Evaluation and Standards

The crucial tool in achieving balance between prefigurative and participatory procedures is the formulation of mutually acceptable standards, a continuing and unresolved problem at SUNYAB. Every dispute about the erosion of standards is a dispute in which means have been transformed into ends. "Standards" are temporary norms which have been defined as a practical means for ascertaining whether certain desirable goals have been achieved. Whenever the "erosion of standards" is deplored, one may safely assume that people have ceased to think about ends. In a very real sense, there is no such thing as an "erosion of standards"; all that can be deplored is the failure of education to educate, that is, lead to the desired ends of broad equality of opportunity together with an adequate level of expertise. Current "standards" tend to be unilaterally defined in terms of the attained level of expertise, leaving the level of personal development quite neglected. The weaknesses of these "standards" have recently been pointed up by a series of major studies concerning the relationship of achievement by these standards to the actual outcomes of the societal selection processes. As long as they remain the yardstick, however, no participatory environment will be able to measure up to traditional institutions which have been constructed with these standards in mind.

In particular, the traditional emphasis on output simply does not acknowledge the importance of process which is so vital to participatory structures. The classic argument "Would you want to be operated by a doctor who . . ." is very revealing in two respects: first, in that it considers a very specialized, highly routinized kind of expertise as the paradigm of excellence, then in its remarkable disregard of the fact that there is a low correlation between success in the study of medicine and success in its practice and that medicine is, in all countries, a field in which both the training and practice is notoriously wasteful of available human resources. Current standards tend to be unidimensional (we have argued that this is largely due to system growth). What is needed is the development of multidimensional standards of educational achievement which take into account not only the attained testable level of expertise (a measure which is about as crude as the profit motive is in evaluating the social benefit of a given enterprise) but also the levels of personal development and the overall cost of the achieved results in terms of available human resources. While confusion of standards is certainly a disagreeable phenomenon, it should be emphasized that this is preferable to the artificial certitude created by traditional measures. In so far as the problems concerning standards reflect actual educational ambiguities, they must be considered desirable in much the same way as the conflict between prefigurative and participatory attitudes.

C. Problems of Providing Equal Opportunity

Changes in standards and increased reliance on student commitment create some difficulties in relation to the definition of equal opportunity. There is a strong tendency to define equality of opportunity as access to the existing conduits of privilege even though by opening them they cease to be what they once were. Consequently, it initially appears that the change in standards will serve to despoil the underprivileged of their right to equality. This will of course not be the case if the changed standards are indeed multidimensional and generally accepted. There is also often the imputation of a lack of motivation among the underprivileged which leads to the argument that the prefigurative structures must be maintained for their sake. There is no evidence to support the contention that underprivileged students individually lack motivation, in fact there are indications to the contrary. There is ample evidence, however, that the socio-economic background can be a strongly negative factor in a student's ability to realize his or her motivation. This is, however, something no amount of coercion will improve. Assuming that this kind of negative factor increases the required time cycle for such students, as well as the style and content of their education, a participatory system such as the C.S. seems to offer the best framework for the effective extension of opportunity to them.

D. Problems of Faculty Preparation and Selection

A participatory environment requires teachers who are capable of acting responsibly in a situation which requires substantial personal commitment; there are dangers equally from excessive and insufficient involvement in the personal relationships of a participatory environment. Optimal instructor selection procedures would require the identification of some critical personal attributes in addition to simple competence in terms of subject mastery. In other words, instructors should also be teachers, with reasonable pedagogical training including both instructional technique and preparation for the role to be played within the group dynamics of the participatory environment.

Modern universities pay only perfunctory attention to the pedagogical abilities of faculty members; in fact, the ethics of disciplinary excellence require that a person be appointed irrespective of personal characteristics. We have pointed out that the reality of departmental procedures actually includes some form of tacit personality criterion. Participatory environments cannot, however, leave this to chance because of the risks this may entail both to the groups and to the individuals involved (the same risks obtain in "traditional" academic situations but are generally discounted as being the "price of excellence").

At the present time, two possible solutions to the problem present themselves: participatory groups can maintain some fairly rigorous form of personal screening but not publicize it (essentially a systematic application of the more genteel departmental procedures). This will produce results but lead to accusations of using "political" tests in hiring, i. e. not strictly academic ones. For this reason, some form of pedagogical training within the system would be preferable. This is obviously desirable for instructors in higher education in general; in a participatory process it becomes essential.

E. Increased Financial Efficiency

One of the most striking results of the C. S. was the contribution it made to increased financial efficiency of the institution. The reasons for this were twofold:

i) A large institution such as SUNYAB usually has significant human and material resources wastefully invested because of a lack of structural cross-linkages: faculty members are assigned to departments and are normally required to do their teaching there, even though they may be able to teach in much broader areas. Simple budgetary constraints (which were removed in the case of the C. S.) make it impossible to use these people optimally and there is no way of identifying such latent resources centrally. A participatory process can achieve this quite readily. Similarly, the kind of competition for funds which is characteristic of large institutions will make individual units like departments reluctant to reveal latent resources to the central budgetary authorities whereas the C. S. provides them with an opportunity to use them constructively on a temporary, reverting basis.

ii) More important still is the simple fact that the current oppositional model of teaching, in which the teacher dispenses instruction, whether the student is learning or not, is highly wasteful. Compulsory or non-voluntary education is costly by virtue of being compulsory. One may postulate that an increase in student or teacher motivation is the major potential source for decreasing the rising costs of education. Participatory processes achieve precisely this result because they are by nature voluntaristic. In addition, the creation of realistic alternatives inherent in the increase in intra-institutional pluralism will lead to an overall increase in motivation and consequently to a reduction in costs.

F. Increased Pedagogical Efficiency

Commitment carries certain real economic benefits, as has been pointed out. These are, however, merely incidental to the reduction of the custodial functions of educational institutions. The real value of increased commitment is an increase in pedagogical effectiveness. A willing student will learn faster than an unwilling one. This is, of course, the ultimate justification for participatory planning.

G. Improved Prefigurative Planning

The C.S. proved to be an ideal forum for experimentation without committing the entire institution to a long-term policy. By careful use of participatory planning, it should be possible to decrease significantly the number of mistakes made in long-term projections since programmes will be incorporated into the long-range planning process only after they have been thoroughly tested in a participatory environment.

There is at the root of this observation a fundamental paradox: in dealing with processes which are legitimate, which can be anticipated but not rationally controlled, the use of rational prediction is a form of irrationality itself, the careful acquiescence into the unpredictable, the most rational of possible approaches. Prefigurative planning will be improved by admitting its limitations and opening up the processes of necessary change to participatory planning procedures. This will allow the careful consideration of alternative designs in good time, before they are incorporated into long-term projections, and would promote a change both in the manner and form of long-term projection and plans toward a greater sense of reality.

Part Three

CONCEPTUAL DEVELOPMENTS IN PARTICIPATORY PLANNING

XIII

PARTICIPATION AND PARTICIPATORY PLANNING IN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

by

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I. INNOVATION THROUGH PARTICIPATION

In practice, most innovations introduced into organised processes and operations imply a shift in the goal structure governing them. Quite often such a shift can be obtained only through a change in the existing power structure, which must precede or accompany the innovation.

In principle, an innovation can imply benefits shared among all those involved in a process or an operation, and all those concerned by its outcomes. However, experience tells us that this is very rarely the case. The current debate on the consequences of economic growth and technological development provides abundant evidence to this effect. Innovations in education in recent years are even more illuminating at this point. They are nearly always accompanied by shifts in the emphasis on various educational objectives, and by more or less subtle changes in the educational power structure.

This situation explains, at least partly, the current tendency to look primarily at the power structure as a means of achieving innovations, in the educational system as well as in other sectors. The current concerns for participation in the decision-making processes may be viewed in this context. The meaning of participation, however, will then obviously depend on what innovations or what shifts in objectives are aimed at.

II. WHAT IS PARTICIPATION?

It may be assumed that participation means a share, in some form, in decision-making. It may also be claimed that all those influenced by decisions should have a share in them. The latter can be justified on the grounds that decisions should be based on full knowledge of their consequences, and that this is best ensured by bringing into decision-making all those influenced by such consequences. It may also, however, be justified in terms of the political principle that everybody should have a certain amount of control over their life situation. Every individual should have some means of defence against manipulation by others.

Such rather broad principles sometimes lead to rather meaningless statements of policy, such as "maximum participation for all concerned". Clearly, if decision-making power were a free good, such statements might have made sense. As it is, decision-making power certainly has to be rationed, and its distribution among groups and individuals is the essence of politics. Furthermore, the sheer number of those concerned will in many cases make direct participation impossible. At most, one can achieve a substitute for participation through representatives of interested groups.

To take the educational system as an example, we have the groups directly involved: educational policy-makers, administrators, teachers and other employed personnel, students and pupils. In addition, we have other groups more or less concerned with what the educational system produces: parents, employers, professional associations, ideological organisations, politicians in general, etc. Clearly, participation of all those concerned would mean most of the population, and many in more than one capacity. In addition, it would be fully justified to include future generations.

A representation system is obviously needed. Participation in the form of election and possible rejection of representatives is, in any case, a necessary element in a democratic decision-making process.

However, as a means of securing the individual a reasonable chance of controlling his own fate, intermittent voting on representatives is a rather meagre offer. In the kind of hierarchical decision-making structure which characterizes most of our societal systems, the opportunity of being vaguely represented at some level high up in the hierarchy does not provide individuals with much feeling of control. The inherent rules of the hierarchy itself seem to absorb most effects of such representation, as seen from the point of view of the individuals represented. Clearly, participation must have a meaning beyond this.

The local sphere of activity in which the individual pupil, student, teacher, etc. takes part is essential to his feeling of personal satisfaction and success, or humiliation and failure. One must assume that participation would mean some element of control of the immediate circumstances creating such effects. For each person involved in an activity, there must be some rewards, some freedom of choice, some possibilities for learning and personal development and for emotional interaction with others. We suggest that participation should at least mean some ability to influence conditions that determine such opportunities.

This presupposes, however, that decisions concerning such conditions are actually taken in the environment within reach of the individual. Consequently, increased participation cannot be looked at only from the point of view of representation at various levels within an existing decision-making hierarchy. The location of such decisions within the hierarchy must be brought into the discussion.

This leads to the conclusion that a precondition for participation in this sense is the existence within organisations of "local" groups, with a certain amount of autonomy.

Membership of such a group does not, however, by itself secure individual participation in the sense indicated above. We need to go more deeply into the conditions under which an element of "local" autonomy can be assumed to have real effect on participation.

III. CONDITIONS FOR PARTICIPATION

The conditions under which delegation of formal decisions to "local" units can be assumed to lead to increased participation of individuals can be summed up in five points. It should be noted that in principle such conditions are valid for all delegation of formal decision-making responsibilities from a higher to a lower level within a decision-making hierarchy. They are also valid in other hierarchical systems than education, though in the following we shall use examples from the latter.

The educational system is an "open" system in constant interaction with other societal systems. General goals served by educational policies are also at the same time served by policies in other fields. Correspondingly, most goals served by policies in other fields are influenced by educational policies.

Consequently, the educational system is under constant pressure from strong interest groups outside the system. Educational policies consist to a great extent of a weighing of different interests, and the whole notion of "an educational policy" is based on the assumption that it is more than a mere reflection of the existing power structure elsewhere in society. A certain amount of autonomy for the educational system presupposes, however, that a number of important decisions are taken centrally for the system as a whole. Extreme autonomy within the system at the "local" level will tend to make individual units defenceless against predominant local interests or strong, countrywide pressure groups representing professional, economic, or ideological interests. We may thus formulate a first condition for participation:

i) Increased "local" autonomy within the educational system must not reduce the possibilities of the system as a whole to defend its individual units against external pressures.

Real autonomy at the "local" level implies that local decisions do not lead to sanctions from higher levels in the decision-making hierarchy. Elements of autonomy in decisions by students must not be threatened by sanctions from teachers in other areas where the teachers still exert prescriptive authority. The autonomy of an individual school may easily become fictitious if there exist extensive possibilities for appeal to higher instances. "Local" autonomy must, therefore, be shielded against "spill over" from prescriptive authority maintained at higher levels. We can thus formulate our second set of conditions:

ii) Prescriptive authority left at higher levels in a decision-making hierarchy must not be used to influence decisions formally delegated to local units.

Local school authorities, individual schools, teachers, classes or pupils will be strongly dependent upon what other units at the same level do. Formal freedom of choice may in fact be strictly limited by actual choices made by others. Such interdependence is not necessarily mutual. Individual units may in their decision be completely dominated by other units belonging to the same level in the decision-making hierarchy. This may be equally true for individual pupils in relation to other pupils, as for whole institutions or even major parts of the educational system. "Pecking orders" are well known all over the educational system. As our third set of conditions we can thus state:

iii) Participation presupposes certain limitations to the interdependence of units at the same level, or a certain equality of "bargaining power" of individual units.

"Local" units with a certain amount of autonomy tend to develop an interior authority structure which may offer quite unequal positions of authority to individual members of the unit. Autonomous school units with decision-making power firmly located with the headmaster, or with the teaching corps, may serve as an example, as well as the power structure among the pupils within a class. We may thus formulate our fourth set of conditions for participation:

iv) "Local" units must offer opportunities for general participation in decision-making for all members.

Opportunities for participation in decisions are not always being used. Lack of training and uncertainty about their own competence may keep many members passive. Failing participation in decisions can also stem from the feeling that the decisions in question lack significance, or that attitudes within the group are too homogeneous for it to matter who makes decisions. This leads to the fifth set of conditions for participation:

> v) Autonomy must imply decisions regarded as significant by those concerned, and the decisions must, at least potentially, be controversial.

We have outlined a number of conditions under which increased autonomy at the "local" level in an educational system may be assumed to increase individual participation. It emerges clearly that such conditions cannot or should not always be fulfilled within an educational system. Increased "local" autonomy is thus no generally applicable prescription for more participation.

The risks are fairly obvious. Autonomous school units are likely to be easy prey for predominant forces outside the school system. Authority exerted vertically within a hierarchical system is likely to spill over into areas of formally decentralized decisions. Mobility between parts of the system, and demand for generally valid evaluation, causes considerable interdependence, and prestige hierarchies among formally equal units do tend to develop. Internal authority structures within local units may imply strict regulations of individual behaviour, which again may be accepted because "the things that matter cannot be changed", or because one trusts others to make the decisions.

Interesting in this respect also is the built-in stability of most hierarchical decision-making structures. Individuals in local positions of authority do not always look forward to a situation involving more real choices in decision-making. It means real responsibility for decisions, including the need to defend them against others at the "local" level, and potentially even the loss of the local authority position. Authority at the local level will have to mean something different from the kind of authority that relies upon vertical contacts upwards in a hierarchical system. No wonder increased "local" autonomy appears as a threat to many of those in local authority positions within such a system.

One should also avoid the misunderstanding that increased freedom of choice for individuals automatically leads to a higher level of manifest satisfaction. Satisfaction is only partly related to an individual's "objective" situation. It may primarily be a function of his awareness of alternatives, and his perception of their realism. When changes are introduced in schools, and in particular in its organisational structure, the awareness of possible alternatives, and especially the perception of their realism, tend to rise rapidly among students and teachers. A change, "objectively" improving conditions, may in fact cause a drop in manifest satisfaction.

This phenomenon is frequently observed in connection with changes leading to more participation by groups traditionally kept out of real influence. Participation is, therefore, hardly an effective means of moderating expressions of disenchantment within schools in a situation of ad hoc crisis. On the other hand, evidence seems to support that an established pattern of participation may prevent a situation of crisis from occurring.

It should be noted that many of the conditions necessary for participation in autonomous local groups also apply to individuals. Greater formal opportunity for choice for individuals, be it student or teacher, can be provided through more options in the school system, individualized instruction, varied curriculum packages for use by teachers, etc. Even disregarding the likelihood that such options will, in fact, reflect exactly the same value structures, and be oriented towards the biggest buyers in the market, the autonomy of the individual in relation to whatever real choices that exist may be doubtful indeed.

He will certainly be surrounded by predominant forces with very specific expectations as to his choice. He will still be within a partly hierarchical system, which may reward or punish him indirectly for the choice he makes. He may, in fact, look primarily at choices made by other individuals in a similar situation. And he may be in a position where the choice really does not matter, his "autonomy" does not include choices felt as significant to him.

We find a close parallel to the issue of "the free choice of the consumer". In addition to the well-known limitations to such "freedom", the educational system abounds with de facto monopolies. Furthermore, while consumers have mostly the chance of trying different products, a student will usually discover the actual consequences of his choice only when it is too late.

We are faced with the dilemma that, on the one hand, "local" autonomy appears necessary for real participation in decision-making. On the other hand, such participation is by no means ensured by delegation of decision-making power to "local" levels alone. Arrangements for representation at higher decision-making levels, and delegation of decision-making power to lower levels, providing for "local" autonomy, may be part of an answer to the quest for participation. None of these remedies, however, provides a full answer. We shall have to take a closer look at the problems involved.

IV. WHO SHOULD PARTICIPATE?

In our educational systems there are at present certain tendencies towards changes in the decision-making structure. Apparently, however, those tendencies are diverging, pointing towards quite different future scenarios for educational decision-making. Roughly, current tendencies might be grouped in four directions.

One direction might be characterized by the term programming. Efforts are made to define specific operational objectives for the educational process and its various components. Instruction is then programmed so as to maximize the achievement of such objectives according to feedback from the process itself.

The forms of instruction must, however, be adapted to the situation of the individual student. Alternative forms can be developed and applied according to the teacher's evaluation of the requirements of each student. Alternative programmes can also be offered as a choice to individual students.

Finally, programmes can prescribe what type of student shall have what kind of programme. Observations needed for feed-back are also prescribed and decide the kind of programme to be utilized.

The different versions of programmed instruction can thus offer certain options to the students or to the teachers, and provide the existence of a "market" for instruction programmes, even to schools or school systems. But the programming can also be carried far enough to leave all important decisions to those formulating the programmes.

A complication connected with programmed instruction is that programmes can only serve one or a few objectives, most frequently related to transmission of factual knowledge and intellectual achievements. To the extent education has other objectives, the effect of programmed instruction upon them is really unknown. The "efficiency" aimed at in such programmes is valid only with reference to their specified objectives, and the relative weighting of those objectives is built into the programme.

Those who use them normally have no means of achieving what, for them, would be a desirable set of objectives or relative emphasis upon the objectives involved.

The "accountability" often associated with such programmes relates only to their stated objectives, leaving other effects unknown. Bearing in mind recent experiences in the context of technological development, one may question whether such "accountability" is not, in fact, a case of grave irresponsibility.

Although programming of this kind may in principle leave certain decisions to students or to teachers, the main trend towards more extensive programming seems to involve a shift in the power structure towards "experts" within or outside the educational system, and to external forces specifying the desirable characteristics of the various products from that system. A tendency towards such a shift in the educational decision-making structure is clearly visible in certain countries, and its further development must be regarded as one of the main alternatives for future directions in this field.

A considerable degree of autonomy for individual schools is practised in a number of countries. Such autonomy may result in major variations among individual schools, especially when their activities are not governed by a general system of external evaluation. The variations may relate to curriculum as well as to teaching methods, and the options open to individual schools may release considerable initiative among teachers.

Students in such schools do not necessarily have more options than students in schools with more external governance. The education offered may be more biased, both in terms of subjects and values. The justification for external governance is often just to prevent excessively one-sided pressures upon students in their local school milieu. School autonomy of this kind may also lead to a qualitative- and/or prestige-based ranking of schools. Those regarded as the best attract the best qualified teachers and students, and the differences among schools tend to become permanent or even increase. Equality objectives in educational policies can hardly be achieved under such circumstances, and to the extent that the choice of schools has decisive effects upon future careers, such a school system may enhance societal inequality.

A decision-making structure of this kind tends to leave the main decision-making power with teachers and other professional groups directly associated with the school. The functioning of the system will depend upon the existence of a unifying set of values for the professional groups involved. If such a common professional value structure exists, it may lead to as strong limitations upon individual teacher initiative as strict external governance.

In several countries there exist examples of school institutions which define their task primarily as being an integrated part of their local environment. Their services are offered not only to children at a certain age, but to all members of the local community, and such services may include much more than regular teaching. Professional guidance, social work, spare-time activities, cultural efforts, etc. can form important parts of the programmes offered.

At the same time, such schools tend to engage as contributors in their activities a significant part of the members of the local community, according to their special qualifications. Instruction and leadership of various activities are often left to persons who are not professional teachers. School activities are not restricted to certain times of the day; the school acts as an open service centre.

Such school units will tend to become dominated by persons and groups in the local community outside the school itself. Parents and local leaders will exert strong influence. This implies, however, that such a school becomes very dependent upon the resources a local community can offer. Standards in different schools will vary strongly. If school achievement serves as the main criterion for selection to social positions in society, the results can be rather discriminatory towards youth from different local communities.

Teachers in such schools may find opportunities for initiative in new fields. Their options may, however, be strongly limited by attitudes dominating the local community. This will be even more true for the students. The wish to preserve values cherished in the local community can lead to an effective isolation of children from external impulses which might have offered real possibilities of choice.

An educational institution will in any case be of major importance for its social environment, and the interplay between the school and the local community will always be a central issue in educational policy. A tendency towards the development of locally integrated school units must, therefore, be regarded as one of the possible directions for future development.

In most countries, and at various levels in the educational system, the question of student participation in decisions concerning their own school situation has become a live issue in recent years. Various forms of student representation are being tried out, as well as forms of instruction which permit more influence by students upon their immediate learning situation. Most of those experiments are built on the assumption that problems within the school can best be solved by bringing representatives of various groups together for joint decision-making.

There exist also some examples of schools practising real student governance. In such cases the students not only can choose among different subjects and pedagogical approaches offered by the school, but they take an active part in the development of such approaches. The teacher becomes primarily a resource person aiding the students in achieving objectives set by themselves. His authority will rest solely on his professional competence and other personal qualifications; he has no means of enforcing his will through sanctions towards the students.

The functioning of such forms of "school democracy" clearly depends upon the age of the students. Most practical examples can be found in adult education, where the students know fairly well what they expect from the school and have a low level of tolerance towards anything else. Frequently, in this case, the students will possess jointly more knowledge of the subject than any teacher, and a constructive learning situation depends upon the extent to which use is made of the student's own experience.

There are only few examples of genuine student governance at the university level and the levels below. Yet, there is some evidence that extensive student governance can function at such levels too. Even in primary education, scattered experiments indicate that pupils can participate actively in quite far-reaching decisions about their own learning situation.

As compared to other models for educational decision-making, a high degree of student governance presupposes first of all a very different authority relationship between teachers and students. Such forms of "school democracy" may cause considerable differences among individual schools as regards the contents and methods of education. The danger of prestige-based institutional ranking appears less, however, in a system with student governed schools than in systems with predominant teacher governance or extensive integration into local communities.

Normally, one would expect student governance to provide more options for individual students. This is not, however, necessarily the case. Even within the student group, some students may exert dominance over others. Like any other form of formal democracy, such an organisational structure is in itself no guarantee against group pressure towards the individual.

The four directions of development in the educational decision-making structure indicated above point towards rather different scenarios for the future educational system. The actual development in this respect will, of course, be strongly dependent upon corresponding developments in society at large. There is, however, a danger in confronting "ideal" models of future systems. The elements of such models are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and the future most likely will show some elements from each of them.

Yet, to the extent such models imply the predominant location of decision-making power with specific groups of actors, one is definitely faced with a choice. One cannot operate with a harmony model based on the assumption that all actors will agree, provided they get to know each other's views. It makes a substantial difference whether decision-making power is vested primarily in external groups of "experts" or "users", in teachers, in predominant forces in the local community or in students and pupils. Decisions affecting the distribution of authority among such groups are likely to decide the nature of future school systems.

Such choices cannot be made according to notions of "efficiency" within the system, as different solutions serve different objectives. The choice is clearly political, based on what value structures one wants to promote. "Expert" advice on such issues serves only one purpose, to promote the relative power position of "experts" in relation to other actors.

V. VERTICAL AND HORIZONTAL EXPLOITATION

The preceding analysis leads us back to the ideological or moral basis for the demand for participation. The claim that each individual should have some control over his own fate may possibly be interpreted as the absence of exploitation by others.

The concept of "exploitation", however, is not an easy one to handle. It implies that an individual is being used as an instrument for the purposes of others. Yet, only if we reason in terms of an absolute conflict model will human interaction take the form of a zero-sum game, where no one can win unless somebody else loses. If we assume a certain minimum of common interest between actors, an interaction may lead to some net gain, which at least in principle offers the possibility of benefits to all interacting parties. (1)

A more general definition of exploitation links it to the relative power position of the actors. Exploitation occurs if an interaction tends to increase the difference between those with many and those with few resources (in the widest possible meaning). (2) The trouble with such definitions is that they presuppose a one-dimensional scale according to which the actors can be ranked. Or, to put it another way, it presupposes that individual resources can be summed up according to a generally ac-

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1. This is why the concept of exploitation in revolutionary ideologies has a relatively clear meaning only as long as the revolution itself is the predominant goal.

2. Such a definition of exploitation is closely related to definitions of "structural violence".

cepted scale of values. (1) There is thus hardly any way in which such a concept of exploitation (or structural violence) can convey the same meaning to everybody. Its meaning to each individual will be a function of his own value structure.

There can be no doubt that all educational systems practise the use of students and pupils as instruments for purposes other than their own. They get value indoctrinated, they get stuffed with factual knowledge the purpose of which they do not see, they get drilled in behaviours which they would not voluntarily adopt, etc. The apparent justification of this is that it is "for their own good": by yielding to such treatment, either from the temptation of rewards or fear of sanctions, they improve their chances for success in life.

This means, however, that if we view education as a form of human interaction, the results of the process are measured in terms of the value structure of only some of the actors, and not of others.

It is possible, however, to see the educational process as a means by which a relatively constant sum of "success in life" is distributed between individuals. In this case the total result of the process is decided by the value attached to the success of the winners as compared to the misery of the losers. Judged by values to which most of us pay at least lip-service, the process may then be viewed as a major case of manipulation, a case of genuine exploitation. (2)

As pointed out before, individual participation is not only limited through the exertion of directive authority downwards within a hierarchical system. Dependence upon other individuals or units at the same hierarchical level may be asymmetric. Bargaining power on behalf of own interests is not equally distributed among individuals or units at the same level.

Such horizontal forms of exploitation offer the same problems of definition as we have discussed above. We have no "objective" scale of measure according to which we can judge the benefits or losses from horizontal interactions. However, in this instance also we can identify cases in which one party is able to impose its own value structure upon another party as a measure of the outcome of an interaction process.

More or less officially recognized status hierarchies between individuals and institutions are cases in point. Specific definitions of the concept of "quality" are often instrumental in this context. Individuals in powerful status positions impose their quality standards upon the performance of others with weaker status. Prestigious parts of the educational systems, such as the universities, impose their quality standards as performance measures for lower levels in the educational system. Prestigious institutions play the same role in relation to institutions with weaker status.

We thus end up with the conclusion that although the concept of exploitation can hardly be given an "objective" transferable meaning, we may still be able to identify cases where exploitation occurs. The ability to have one's own standards of performance or quality generally accepted as valid also for the performance of others is a useful yardstick for this purpose. Whether "exploitation" is a good or a bad thing is then still an open question, but so is the question of the value of "participation".

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1. An illustration may be the difference between an aggregate such as the GNP, and various aggregate measures of "quality of life".

2. This would not necessarily be true, however, if the process can be assumed to increase the total "sum of success" through the general contribution of education to societal progress. Again, however, the notion of progress can be meaningful only in relation to some specific value structure.

Whatever we might feel on this point, however, it may not be the decisive factor in future developments. When previously we have talked about "choosing" various models for the future decision-making structure in education, the choice is in fact going to be made by actors in this process themselves. Defining the "true interests" of others may be a popular sport, both among "experts" and "users" as well as among planners and ideologists. Yet, the decisive factor may be the "voting with their feet" of the various actors themselves.

The near monopoly of the educational system in allocating individuals to social positions is not a very stable one today. We may be moving towards a situation in which the rewards and sanctions provided by the educational system appear less tempting and less frightening to young people. They may gradually find other means of achieving whatever they want. As yet we have not, by far, seen the consequences of our recently acquired state of information affluence.

To the extent such developments are part of our future - they are already easily discernible today - decision-making structures within education may change in directions which politicians can do little more than adapt to, provided of course that they would like to see the educational system kept out of museums.

VI. PARTICIPATORY PLANNING

Planning is supposed to provide important premises for decisions. It is an essential part of the total decision-making process. The definition of a planning function can, in fact, be meaningful only in relation to a given decision-making structure.

Within a hierarchical organisation, planning will primarily consist of various forms of consistency control. Consistency of decisions and implementation over time must be ensured. Assumptions underlying actual operations must be consistent with available factual information. The horizontal interdependencies among operating units also calls for consistency control. And, finally, behaviour all through the organisation should be consistent with the organisation's central goal structure.

Within hierarchical organisations, planning tends to become a speciality monopolized by professional "planners", often grouped together in a separate agency for planning. Whatever its formal position within the hierarchy, such a planning agency tends to become an auxiliary body to superior co-ordinating bodies. Quite often its main function consists of the evaluation and screening of proposals emerging from operational branches. In the decision-making process they are drawn towards a location between operational units and the "political" leadership. Their true function becomes advocacy of specific policies and control of their implementation.

If participation in decision-making is to be taken seriously, this will obviously affect the organisation of planning in a profound way. Any change of the power structure within a system is bound to influence the way in which the planning function is performed. Otherwise, a change in the power structure would hardly be real.

If participation means some representation of new groups at strategic levels of an otherwise maintained hierarchical system, some changes in organisational objectives may occur, which again will have their impact on planning. Beyond this, one might establish certain direct links between "expert" planners and the new groups represented. One might, for instance, arrange discussions and interviews with representatives of such groups, or establish more permanent "advisory" bodies to the planning agency with formal representation of various interested parties.

Provided the hierarchical organisation of the system is maintained, the planning agency establishes itself, in effect, as a "second centre" of decision-making. The underlying assumption must be that representation in bodies formally entrusted with responsibility for decisions is not enough to bring planning in line with the resulting changes in the organisation's general goal structure. It may strengthen the influence of various interest groups upon the functioning of the system. However, it is at least as likely that direct channels between planning agencies and represented groups is being used as a consensus-creating mechanism, to reduce potential frictions and increase the acceptance of centrally defined objectives of the system. Whatever the case, the effect is likely to be that planning activities tend to strengthen the relative power position of the top levels of the hierarchy, and at the same time enhance the possibilities of exerting directive authority - disguised as "expert advice" - by the planning agency itself.

"Participatory" planning under such circumstances can also take other forms. Surveys of preferences within various groups may form a basis for planning work, which can then be said to be based on wide contact with the "grass roots". One may even go as far as to predict "value dynamics" as assumptions underlying long-term development plans.

The snag here is two-fold. First, the weighting of preferences expressed by different groups rests with the planners, and leaves nearly limitless possibilities for interpretation. Secondly, preference scales are meaningless per se. They have meaning only in relation to some usually implicit frame of reference, based upon the individual's perception of realistic alternatives. Surveys of preferences usually only relate preference statements to the surveyor's own frame of reference which is, in fact, the only way such statements can be aggregated, the result being that such aggregates usually mean very little.

It appears that most forms of "participatory" planning within a hierarchical structure are bound to result primarily in a strengthening of the power position of professional planners. They establish an alternative decision-making structure to that of the formal organisation, which strengthens their position in relation to the formal leaders of the organisation. This might be viewed as a desirable development in a situation where democratic political processes function imperfectly. Whether the technocratic features of such an alternative solution represent an improvement is a very open question.

Participation in the sense we have used the term here inevitably requires a profoundly different definition of the planning function. Planning is inherently linked to decisions and must occur where real decisions are made. Participation thus means that planning cannot be a monopoly for a group of specialists or specialized agencies; it must be performed by all groups and individuals participating in decisions.

The prime function of planning specialists or planning agencies in this case must be to aid the development of a planning function in all parts of a system. The task will not be to monopolize or control the planning function, but to serve others in their exertion of it.

The only way this can happen is when planners abstain from any formal or real position of prescriptive authority over others within a system. Control and screening functions must be abandoned. Their interactions with other units within the system must predominantly be horizontal, and they should not use their vertical contacts upwards in the organisation in order to enforce their views upon other units.

If our belief in planning is justified, we must assume that planners will still exert authority based on their professional competence. But this authority must be purely informative, without the use of rewards and sanctions. The function of planners within the system must be non-exploitive.

We have arrived at the definition of the special role of planners which is basically a pedagogical one. It corresponds to the role of the teacher in a student governed school, where the teacher aids the students in their search for their own solutions to problems, and where he is not in a position to impose his own value structure or performance scales upon them.

Such a role for planners in promoting a general planning function within a system has many implications. One of them stems from the obvious incompatibility between such a role and the current fashion of magic in planning. So-called "planning techniques" are today one of the most effective means planners use to establish a position which permits the provision of apparently professional answers to political questions. Such techniques exclude the planners' clients from any real understanding of the implications of the planners' advice. Of current "techniques" or "approaches" offered in planning, there are hardly any which do not contain a wide range of built-in value assumptions, well hidden from any questioning by clients.

We may be faced, as planners, with the claim that it is for us to bring out such implicit value assumptions in a way that is truly understood by those we serve. We may have to abandon most of our professional jargon, which in any case mostly covers rather banal oversimplifications of reality. Real participation will mean that other actors within a system simply refuse to listen to "expert advice" which they do not fully understand.

Will such a role in fact do away with most of the planning function? In all likelihood this would be true for a fair proportion of what we call planning today, the part which mainly serves the purpose of providing planners with a basis for prescriptive authority. This may be a precondition, however, for a socially more valuable planning function to develop. It might provide planning with a chance to become the essential critical function, which most of our systems certainly need.

The refusal to accept this change in the planning concept has wide implications. Such a refusal implies more than the rejection of a pedagogical role for planners; it implies also a rejection of the value of education except as an accidental means to achieve certain rewards and, finally, a rejection of participation in any kind of system in the sense the concept has been used in this paper.

XIV

ADMINISTRATORS, PROFESSIONALS AND LAYMEN IN EDUCATIONAL DECISION-MAKING

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I. TECHNICAL AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The lack of adequate criteria for judging the degree of obsolescence of educational institutions and practices has left the educational sector in a position of relative sanctuary while other social institutions have disintegrated or have been redesigned to serve the needs of contemporary political economies. Slowly, however, the modernization of education is beginning, under the assault, on the one hand, of the technocratic innovators with packaged curricula, new teaching media or organisation and methods expertise and, on the other hand, of the radical theologians of education, the de-schoolers. Any appreciation of educational change must include awareness of the extent to which education has been protected from changes that have already occurred in the larger society. Educational institutions now appear to face the dilemma of whether to act as a kind of cultural brake to defend traditional cultural and social values or to provide a field for the development of ways of knowing, communicating and socially organising which have largely been developed and explored outside education. It is obvious to any observer of education in the industrialized Western societies that this basic dilemma is strongly etched in the systems, dividing administrators, teachers, parents, politicians and others. The decision-making apparatus of education has been peculiarly immune from analysis outside of the United States, but this is the point on which reformers in other countries must now focus their attention if they are to understand the course of feasible educational development. In this paper there is some mapping-out of the ground for such study in the United Kingdom, and decision-making processes are descriptively outlined to help organise hypotheses for more concentrated analysis. No attempt is made to avoid controversial interpretation where there are grounds for it, even if formal evidence is slight or non-existent, as must be the case while a political science of education scarcely exists.

A model of social modernization has been provided elsewhere, in which the re-patterning and changes that occur can be understood as relating to dimensions of scale, complexity of organisation and the participative activity of individuals and groups affected. (1) Applied to education, as Figure 1 shows, the model separates conceivable types of changes in a manner which has been chronologically matched in reality in the industrialized countries.

The education system had first to respond to the demand for more workers equipped with rudimentary skills, and this at a time of rapid population growth. As the flow of people through the schools increased and the duration of schooling lengthened to meet economic and wider social demand, the number and size of institutions and the flow of material resources into education also increased. Among more recent features of change in scale has been the response to the cultural variety of learners through the multiplication of types of curricula and a growing recognition of the obsolescence of knowledge and curricula as alternatives are developed. Changes in the scale of education have entailed organisational development to marshall the growing volume of people and plants. As

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1. H.D. Plunkett and M.J. Bowman, Elites and Change in the Kentucky Mountains (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, forthcoming).

Figure 1. THE MODERNIZATION OF EDUCATION

Type of Change	Direction of Change	Major Features
1) Scale	Growth	Explosion of knowledge and diversity of values Expansion of institutions and enrolments Extension of length of compulsory schooling Material investment increased New courses, multiplication of choices
2) Organisation	Rationalization	Policies and ideologies articulated Division of labour, specialization Bureaucratization Technocratic educational planning
3) Participation a) Technical	Democratization	Social priorities Equalization of educational opportunities
b) Political	Pluralism in policy-making	Pluralism, dissent Professional autonomy Pressure group activity Rights of individuals and minorities secured

simple tutoring gave way to a more elaborate division of labour amongst educational personnel, flat hierarchies of control deepened and education became bureaucratized and programmed like the mass-production industries.

The changes that have occurred on the participation dimension have been much more recent where they have occurred at all. It tends in fact to be widely assumed that they have included a substantial democratization of education, or the diminution of differences between the proportions of particular social groups completing given stages of education. There can be no doubt that the recognition of education as improving life-chances has led to questions of equity in education being more insistently posed by, or on behalf of, minorities or socially, culturally and politically disadvantaged groups, ranging from inner-city slum dwellers and coloured immigrants to pupils in authoritarian educational institutions, women and others who have been unable to secure equality of educational opportunity. Any social analyst must recognize both the first two types of change in the modernization process and also some evidence for an extension of the educational franchise which has permitted greater participation in education.

But a problem of definition is encountered here since some writers are content to limit their concept of participation to this socio-economic meaning, while others include further dimensions. Gross, in proposing five dimensions to democratic participation, includes individual rights, organisational rights and political rights in his definition. (1) For the purposes of this paper, we can more simply speak of rival definitions of "technical" and "political" participation. The starting point taken is the assumption that participation is a means and not an end. The end in view is a quality of life in society and stems from the principle of the equality of human rights. Such a principle is vital if the ends of efficiency and economic growth are not to impose themselves summarily in education, so that the role of the teacher or the learner is seen merely to be one of compliance before an inexorable orthodoxy of rational progress. Technical democracy in social and economic life can obviously deny individual freedom and thus conflict with political democracy, whereas political democracy can have social and economic costs. The choice may have to be made between pursuing a more or a less socialized model of man, or at least between assuming single or multiple cultural value-systems in defining the objectives of social institutions. In education, the issue is whether the partial desocialization of man is to be tolerated, that is, whether the claims for the individual made by writers, theologians, therapists and educators ought now to be taken seriously, precisely as the model of rational man has reached its apogee in Western society. (2)

The underlying issue remains the problematical status of education through which we seek to satisfy both socio-economic or public needs and cultural or individual needs. While plausible arguments can be proposed to justify wider participation in policy-making within the first area of needs, there is little doubt that present education systems are poorly geared to giving satisfaction in the second area. The two ways of thinking about man, as social animal and as individual consciousness, polarize the values that shape man's knowledge of himself. The issue comes very clearly into relief in a discussion of educational planning or decision-making. On the basis of what model of man are decision-making procedures established? Even though it may be possible to conceive of education systems based upon objectives of economic and social efficiency, with criteria that are clearly defined and which can be applied by expert administrators, can we confidently predict ways to accommodate the system to a cultural environment in which ambivalence about, if not opposition to, such values is widespread? Are those who, at present, effectively monopolize decision-making power involved in a war of attrition with those who do not share their values?

The most plausible alternative to the possibility of cultural and social disintegration is the experimentation within the system that would result from broader participation in the policy-making process, and the new injections of purpose that this would entail. The instability probable in such an evolutionary process must be balanced against the malaise prevailing in traditional systems. Political participation claims against established education systems are in fact becoming diversified as teachers, parents, students, pupils and others seek to increase their influence vis-à-vis both the public authorities and each other over decision-making processes in education. As the potential economic and social value of education becomes more clearly recognized by pupils or their parents, the question of what kind of education to obtain must become the next focus

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1. B.M. Gross, *The State of the Nation: Social Systems Accounting* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1966).

2. While not an endorsement of de-schooling, the present argument evidently takes for granted the notion of the over-institutionalization of contemporary education as reflected in the writings of Illich, Huberman and others.

of interest. Similarly, as professional educators find themselves ensnared in complex and often rigid institutions, distinct and divergent career-lines and controversial and contested philosophies of education, they necessarily seek to increase their autonomy as an occupational group and, in addition, to extend their power in the making of educational policy. Meanwhile, the administrative and party political authorities at local and national levels have effective control over the choice of educational priorities, the allocation of resources and the timing of any wider policy consultation. It may be suspected that in large part the struggle for the control of educational policy reflects the conflicts of values and interests between groups occupying more and less privileged statuses in the society and economy. This paper proposes to examine the range of political behaviour of administrators, professionals and laymen in educational affairs, using these categories for convenient empirical reference.

II. INTEREST-GROUPS IN EDUCATION

Who can claim to know the appropriate ways to resolve the social issues that become important in educational policy-making? There is continuing debate about such matters as the reorganisation of secondary education, the standards, examinations and qualifications that mark academic progress, the resources to be devoted to physical and social welfare of children, the rights of minorities to demand special educational facilities and the rights to representation on governing bodies of educational institutions and systems. None of these issues can be resolved according to formal procedural rules. Informal procedures and the differential influence of prominent or active groups and individuals lead to unprescribed allocations of power that contrast with the designations on organisation charts.

An idea of the complexity of these struggles for influence in the British education system can be formed from an examination of the identities of bodies giving evidence to major public educational enquiries in recent years. The Robbins Committee received 400 items of evidence, mainly from organisations, and the Plowden Committee nearly 300, of which half were from organisations. (1) The spectrum of organisations submitting evidence was very wide. Both Committees received evidence from the main local authority and education officer associations, from employers' and workers' unions and associations, from political parties, youth organisations, churches and secularists and from students', parents' and numerous teachers' organisations. Many of the organisations submitting evidence to the Robbins and Plowden Committees maintain a constant activity in the educational policy arena at both national and local levels, and thereby contribute to making the distribution of policy-making power in education a matter of intense and active political interest. (2) But a more complicated question to consider is how broad the political constituency of education should be, that is, to whom are those who actually provide public educational services accountable? The natural reaction

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1. Committee on Higher Education, *Higher Education* (London: HMSO, 1963) (The Robbins Report), and Central Advisory Council for Education (England), *Children and their Primary Schools* (London: HMSO, 1967) (The Plowden Report).

2. M. Kogan, *The Politics of Education* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971).

of the professional to external, or lay, criticism is to insulate himself from its demands. A tension arises between the principle of the accountability of the public official and the professional's unwillingness to be dictated to. A regular buffer system tends to be set up, involving local authority education committees and school managing and governing bodies. The main problem here is quickly seen: the machinery of government of the schools, however responsive to informal pressures, is not itself representative of the average client family in the manual working class. It is important to recognize clearly both the degree of interest-group activity in education and the biases that it reveals, particulary since the educational literature scarcely alludes to the informal machinery of educational policy-making.

A. Administrators

To a greater or lesser degree for particular interested parties, participation in educational decision-making is a reality, albeit mainly at an informal level. As long as this influence remains informal it is likely to be high in creativity but low in effectiveness. Such a situation may suit the present educational decision-makers, since they can afford to respond to strongly felt and strongly supported views if they are otherwise able to administer the system without interference. Far from being a cynical view of educational administration, it can fairly be claimed that this is descriptive of what happens in British education from the highest levels to the local school. Many educational leaders echo the call to keep politics out of education, as though education were not intensely politicized internally. What they appear to advocate is that "external" politics should be kept out of education, but this nonetheless involves a limited concept of democracy. A systematic study of British educational institutions could well be undertaken with the aim of testing the democratic declarations of educational leaders against the performance of their own institutions. (1) Although the Department of Education and Science has

1. One of the firmest statements encountered by the author concerning the contribution to be made to educational policy-making by the layman in the United Kingdom was made by Sir H. Andrew, then permanent secretary at the Department of Education and Science. In oral evidence to the Royal Commission on Local Government in England, this doyen of education civil servants answered the then Sir J. Maud's question about the role of the amateur in a reformed and improved local government system by offering the following list of roles:

> "tell officials what the public will not put up with.
>
> "exercise a broad judgement on whether the system, as it is run in their area, is efficient, and whether it is humane; to encourage development and experiment and a certain amount of risk-taking and innovation; and at the same time to discourage either wild flights of fancy or the too-strong personal imprint of a professional administrator.
>
> "consider areas of work in the longer term than a professional administrator may do.
>
> "one of the arguments for not running the system centrally (is) that you do get variety and the possibility of new growth and development. I do not think you could get that sort of variety without amateur, elected people in at some stage.
>
> "bring into the education system a much greater diversity of experience than it would otherwise get."

See Royal Commission on Local Government in England, Minutes of Evidence, 27th February 1967 (London: HMSO, 1967), p. 90.

never proposed a policy to democratize formally the operation of its policy-making, Manzer has described the consultative approach of the system of "educational sub-government" by which the Secretary of State for Education obtains the opinions and advice of the major educational interest-groups. (1)

It becomes a matter of great interest when one element of the central policy-making apparatus, the Schools Council, is said to espouse a participative ideology, as one of its former joint secretaries has maintained. (2) If this view is accurate, the implications for the future of educational policy-making in Britain could be considerable, since it would be impossible in the longer term to accord such rights in one area and to deny them in another. The Schools Council has representation from the universities, the teachers' unions and associations and from numerous other interest-groups, though there is only one parents' and no pupils' representative. That the teacher representation has bite is clear from the way in which teacher opposition has led to the abandonment of projects being developed under Council auspices. (3) But it nonetheless appears that participation is subject to various checks, with skilful committee management, carefully selected working groups and safe project-financing keeping conflict to a minimum. The fear of controversy is a hall-mark of many types of educational institutions in Britain and the Schools Council is no exception. The public image of a participative body is impressive, but the reality is not confirmed by the knowledge, for example, that the Council has been unwilling for some time to allow publication of several highly innovative evaluation studies of its own projects. (4)

Faced with the hierarchical organisation of most of the Area Training Organisations in the higher education sector, the James Report on Teacher Education and Training has recommended their replacement by Regional Councils for Colleges and Departments of Education in order to ensure a greater degree of accountability in teacher education to the wider education system. (5) Under pressure from Short, as Secretary of State for Education and Science, the ATO's were in fact attempting to broaden their base and to give representation to teachers. The fact remains, however, that the ATO's are university-based, and have accorded a central importance to the universities over the colleges of education and the teachers. This hierarchical principle is carried through within the university element of the ATO, since it is academics of professorial rank and established lecturers with administrative responsibilities who develop

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1. R.A. Manzer, Teachers and Politics: the Role of the National Union of Teachers in the Making of Educational Policy in England and Wales since 1944 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970), but see also the argument for the need for greater public scrutiny of the Department of Education and Science and the local education authorities in C. Benn and B. Simon, Half Way There (London: McGraw-Hill, 1970), p. 353.

2. G. Caston, "The Schools Council in Context", Journal of Curriculum Studies, III: 1st May 1971, pp. 50-64.

3. After objections in Schools Council committee discussions from teachers' organisations, the publication of a curriculum package concerned with race relations, one of nine different packages being prepared for the Humanities Curriculum Project, was interrupted. Other similar instances could be cited.

4. See also J.P. Parry, The Provision of Education in England and Wales (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971), especially pp. 83-84, where the role of the Department of Education and Science is discussed.

5. Department of Education and Science, Teacher Education and Training (London: HMSO, 1972) (The James Report).

or maintain policy. Indeed, the existence of a professorial oligarchy in the universities has been recognized by the professors themselves. (1)

The system whereby the routine administration of education is left in the hands of the local education authorities in the United Kingdom has led to considerable conflict between professional and bureaucratic interests, and more recently to pressure-group activity by laymen's organisations. The small size of some authorities and the consequently poor calibre of officials recruited necessarily affect the standards with which educational and other personal services are administered. Education is the predominant item of expenditure on the local authority budget and the task of administering schools, health and welfare facilities and, sometimes, further and higher educational institutions is not always as adequately performed as the professionals in some of the administered institutions would wish. (2) Evidence submitted by a number of colleges of education to the House of Commons Select Committee on Education and Science for its inquiry into teacher education included critical reports on the performance of local authorities in exercising too close a control, preventing proposed developments and overloading boards of governors with inexpert political nominees. (3) Dissatisfactions appear at school level also, particularly over such issues as secondary school reorganisation and selection and allocation procedures for pupils. Authorities are accused of operating undeclared selection systems on expedient grounds rather than argued educational principles. (4)

B. Professionals

The unions and associations of teachers have normally been concerned with promoting their own professional status and the conditions of work of their occupational group, though in recent years there has been a rapidly developing growth of interest among these bodies in seeking specific educational policy goals, such as reductions in the size of school classes or modifications to the teacher training system. (5) The prime objective of teachers, however, is to ensure that their claim to professional autonomy is granted by general consent and institutionalized in the education system, thus allowing teachers to pursue particular educational philosophies or doctrines and to use their chosen educational methods without being subject to external review. To defend and further this autonomy, teachers have worked to achieve representation in formal bodies concerned with the government of the education system at national, area, local and school levels. However, given the stratified nature of teaching as an occupational group, with a range of unions and associations which enrol their members according to such criteria as qualifications, grade

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1. A.H. Halsey and M.A. Trow, The British Academics (London: Faber and Faber, 1971), Chapter 14, especially Table 14.9 on p.381.

2. T.A. Lockett, "The Government of Colleges of Education", in Dear Lord James, ed. T. Burgess (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971).

3. House of Commons Select Committee on Education and Science, Teacher Training: Documents, Memoranda and Questionnaire (London: HMSO, 1970).

4. This common suspicion is forcefully advanced in a recent detailed account of a selection scheme in one local authority which was alleged to be "dependent for its success on the ignorance of parents about what was going on". See E. Robinson, "The Secret 11 Plus", Where, No. 69, May/June, 1972.

5. National Union of Teachers, The Reform of Teacher Education (a policy statement on the future of teacher education) (London: National Union of Teachers, 1971).

of appointment, the age-range of pupils taught or the accepted status of the teacher's school in a social-academic hierarchy, teachers have rarely worked for common objectives and their political power has accordingly been slight. The insecurity felt by teachers active in the unions and associations has led them to attend, in the first instance, to the political objectives of their sector of the profession, and only afterwards to the interests of the remainder of their colleagues or of their clients. In practice, the goals of the teachers' organisations have been largely concerned with teacher-power, whatever the principles enunciated by campaign documents. The example can be taken of the National Union of Teachers' campaign for teacher participation. In the first place, teacher participation was defined as teachers playing "their part in the decision-making and organisation of the individual school". (1) This claim was based, in part, upon the principle of "active democracy" which was seen as a "factor of change in society itself". Although few would take issue with such a position, some points about the campaign are worth noting. First, no argument was offered in the campaign document as to why teacher participation should be confined to the school; nor was any argument offered as to whether this was the only or most appropriate level at which to seek to make teacher participation a reality. If, in fact, the Union leadership were satisfied with the Union's handling of teacher representation at the higher echelons, this is hardly in line with the principle of active democracy proclaimed. In the second place, Teacher Participation makes no attempt to review the case that could be made for participation by groups other than teachers; it does not mention parents, and it specifically dismisses the pupil participation issue. The teacher-centred nature of the campaign is very plain and indicates how factionalized the educational sector is in the process of becoming.

C. Laymen

Faced with the choice of educational guardians or teacher-power, the layman tends to feel uninformed, insecure and aggressive. Numerous lay pressure-groups are emerging in education to demand particular policy changes or to attempt to alter educational priorities more generally: immigrant groups seeking equitable provision of material and educational facilities, advocates of nursery education, abolitionists of selective secondary schooling, pupil-protest movements concerned with establishing personal freedom and social rights, employers' demands for more vocationally relevant school and university curricula and the whole range of ideological, cultural, economic and other social groups who believe that their objectives can be served by more favourable educational policies. These claims by the layman conflict with the efficiency criteria of the administrators and the autonomy claims of the professionals, and constitute evidence of the need for a more democratic structure for educational policy-making.

It seems a tenable proposition that the influence of particular categories of parents over education decreases as the proportion of the costs of education that they can be seen to bear declines. Thus, in the independent sector parents are most powerful, and the independent schools directly reflect the aspirations that the parents have for their children. In the selective state schools, which the children of the higher socio-economic groups have disproportionate chances of entering, parental influence though indirect is very substantial. The general culture and norms

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1. National Union of Teachers, Teacher Participation: a Study Outline (London: National Union of Teachers, 1971).

of the schools reflect the aspirations of the parents. In those schools, however, in which the population is negatively selected, that is, which contain either the rejects of a selective system or the disadvantaged in ecological selection, the parents are not only devoid of influence for the most part, but many typical features of their understanding of life and their notions of child-rearing and of the purposes of education are virtually rejected by present policy-makers.

More generally, it can perhaps be said that the State advances its influence over the upbringing of children as the socio-economic status of the parent declines, and that this process reaches its ultimate phase in the intervention in the family by the social and welfare services in cases where the family is judged to be inadequate. The basis upon which this intervention is practised is not clear, except where there is severe anti-social behaviour, and the Seebohm Report on the personal social services argued strongly for supporting rather than replacing family functions. (1) In this situation, it is misleading to speak of parental rights; there are hardly any formal parental rights in education. The 1944 Education Act accords the parent the right to choose his or her child's school, but qualifies this right at the discretion of the local education authority. The only other right granted by the Act is that of withdrawing the child from school worship and religious instruction. It is hardly surprising that recent years have seen the development of numerous parental or public organisations to intensify the politicization of the formal education system. What is more germane to the point here is that this organisation has not been such as to give equal influence to all categories of parents, but rather, because it has been apolitical, usually favouring parent-teacher relations rather than power-sharing, it has increased the influence of those who were the better placed socially and economically. Parent-teacher associations and the Confederation for the Advancement of State Education have been organised largely as the result of initiatives taken by those most familiar with the education system. Only scattered examples have been reported where socially disadvantaged groups have become active in educational decision-making or have achieved some measure of informal influence in educational affairs.

This social structural discrepancy is the most notable fact about parental participation in education and must be the starting-point for any discussion of whether such participation is needed, how it might be achieved and what priority should be given to achieving it by present educational decision-makers. It is interesting to note that the objectives of the Educational Priority Areas action research programme, which has been the largest investigation of its kind carried out in the United Kingdom, do not seem to rule out concern with political participation, in the sense in which the terms are being used here. Two of the objectives of the research related to this general area are: "to increase the involvement of parents in their children's education" and "to increase the sense of responsibility for their communities of the people living in them". It would seem that to have involvement and responsibility the communities concerned must participate in the making of decisions and not merely in the educational process. (2) The research reported to date from the EPA project, how-

1. Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services, Report (London: HMSO, 1968).

2. A.H. Halsey "The Halsey Programme: Six of the Best", Priority News Supplement, May 1972, lists the six principal recommendations of the Educational Priority Areas project. These include "the promotion of parental participation in the education process". Why is any reference to participation in policy-making excluded?

ever, bears largely upon the problems of conveying information to parents and seeking their interest in furthering their children's social and academic development in terms of the opportunities offered by the prevailing education system. A further step has to be taken by educationists if they are to adopt as "democratic" an approach as their opposite numbers in the social services or town planning. Recommendations of the Seebohm and Skeffington Committees emphasize the community development potentials of participation by the public. (1) Seebohm recommends, using the American phrase, "maximum participation of individuals and groups in the community in the planning, organisation and provision of the social services". The Report adds: "This view rests not only upon the working out of democratic ideas at the local level, but relates to the identification of needs, the exposure of defects in the services and the mobilization of new resources". (2) The Skeffington Report defines participation as "the act of sharing in the formulation of policies and proposals", (3) and refers to the need to involve all sectors of the community and not just articulate groups. No officially sponsored educational report in the United Kingdom has made such forthright recommendations.

Lay influence in education is formally exercised through the elected and co-opted members of local authority education committees and the managing bodies of primary schools and the governing bodies of secondary schools. Elected members almost all belong to political parties, while co-opted members are usually persons of some local standing or possessors of special knowledge concerning the education service, rather than ordinary citizens. There are, however, some local authorities, including Sheffield and the Inner London authority, which now co-opt parents onto school boards of management or government. It should be noted that only a few authorities include even headteachers and teacher representatives as managers or governors. The complex topic of school government cannot be discussed here at any length, but numerous writers have called attention to the unrepresentative character of the prevailing system. Benn and Simon have referred to the "air remoteness and conspiracy" of governing bodies, (4) and some investigators have reported managers and governors to be typically older than parents and of higher average social status, and one local investigation found that half the managers' school-age children were at private rather than state schools. (5) The inadequacies of the system have been made plain by the research carried out on behalf of the Royal Commission on Local Government in England. (6) This national inquiry found that managing and governing bodies tended to be concerned only with routine rather than policy-making matters for which they were normally subordinate to the education committees, to the extent that their continuance without substantial modification did not appear justified. (7) It has been found that managers and governors were uncertain about their own roles, that ministry officials and chief education

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1. The Seebohm Report; Committee on Public Participation in Planning, People and Planning (London: HMSO, 1969) (The Skeffington Report); see also, for an extended discussion of voluntary participation in local government planning, M. Broady, Planning for People (London: Bedford Square Press, 1968)

2. Seebohm Report, para. 491.

3. Skeffington Report, para. 5.

4. Benn and Simon, op. cit., p. 357.

5. East Sussex Association for the Advancement of State Education, "Survey of Primary School Managers" (1969, mimeo.).

6. Research Unit on School Management and Government, School Management and Government (London: HMSO, 1968).

7. Ibid., p. 141.

officers thought of them predominantly as providing a link between the school and the community, while headteachers thought that they were ineffective in this latter function. (1) Virtually all sources alluding to the subject recommend the greater participation of parents, and usually of teachers also, in the government of schools. The Plowden Report commented that most parents did not have the slightest idea of who were the managers of their children's schools. (2) Although a limited overview of the roles and functioning of governing bodies is maintained by the Department of Education and Science through its duty to approve the articles of government for secondary schools, for example local authorities have very great latitude in whom they include on their governing bodies, and whether they make them responsible for one or several grouped schools. These bodies will have little to contribute to genuine political participation as long as they remain havens of patronage and limited in their decision-making responsibility to providing support for the views of local authority officers and the policies of the majority political party in the locality. (3)

The major lay interest-groups which are concerned with educational policy-making, such as the political parties, the churches, and the employers' and workers' associations and unions, are able to develop nationwide strategies to influence opinion. The issues which appear most significant to these groups are debated centrally, and are often resolved into governmental policies which effectively remove the issue from local discussion. The comprehensive reorganisation of secondary schools provides an outstandingly clear illustration of this process. Lifted out of the local arena by the Labour Government's Circular 10/65 requiring all local authorities to prepare plans for comprehensive schools, the matter was then returned to the local level by the Conservative Government's Circular 10/70. This reversal evidently reflects major differences in the political and educational priorities of the two parties, and these are further exposed by recent news that the national trend towards comprehensive secondary schooling has slowed. The local authorities which delayed preparing plans for "comprehensivization" have been those whose reluctance to abandon selective education most nearly matched the view of the central authority.

The last five years have seen one major kind of structural change in educational decision-making in the United Kingdom, as in many other countries, namely, the widespread acceptance of student participation. The climate prior to that time may be judged from the fact that the Weaver Report on the government of colleges of education in 1966 made no reference to the role that might be played by students on college governing bodies or academic boards. (4) The publication, in 1967, by the National Union of Students of the document *Representation, Discipline and Autonomy* represented the first clear statement by British students that drew inspiration from the evolving international student protest movement. Student conditions in Britain probably did not deteriorate as rapidly as they did in many other countries where expansion of higher education

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1. *Ibid*, p. 106, for evidence on chief education officers and headteachers. For information on views of the Department of Education and Science, see Royal Commission on Local Government in England, *Written Evidence of the Department of Education and Science* (London: HMSO, 1967), p. 24.

2. Plowden Report, para. 1133.

3. A. Corbett, "The School Governors We Want", *Where*, No. 69, May/June 1972.

4. Department of Education and Science, *Report of the Study Group on the Government of Colleges of Education* (The Weaver Report) (London: HMSO, 1966).

during the 1960's was more rapid, and the NUS was, at that time, at least as concerned with maintaining its unity in a higher education system, now fragmented into Oxbridge, the other universities, the colleges of education and the colleges of technology and of further education, as with promoting militant attitudes and policies. Oppositional factions of students began to emerge with the founding of the Radical Student Alliance in 1966, and the NUS was accused of being co-opted into a liberal consensus. (1) However, in 1968, the NUS and the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals published a joint statement which represented a negotiated shift in the official norms for desirable consultation with and representation of students.

In 1969, the House of Commons Select Committee on Education and Science conducted an inquiry into students and their relations with universities and colleges, and has provided what is probably the most comprehensive review of the wide variety of experimental consultative and participatory machinery that was being set up in the universities and colleges, covering such areas as curriculum, teaching and examinations, welfare and material organisation, facilities, and disciplinary matters. (2) The Select Committee recommended the acceptance of student representation on university councils and senates and on the governing bodies and academic boards in the local authority colleges, and also that the DES should give guidance on student representation in polytechnics and local authority colleges. (3) The DES is singled out for critical comment when it is noted that the Department "had no view or policy about student representation on academic boards" and would not admit a role in furthering student representation in universities. (4) On the other hand, it was noted that students had achieved quite rapid success in advancing their claims to representation, so much so that junior staff, who had shown very little militancy, found themselves disadvantaged relative to their own students. (5)

Within the last couple of years students have appeared to be of importance as an interest-group not only in their own right but as an organising force permanently altering the way in which decision-making is perceived throughout the education system. Moreover, the experience, and the success, of the student campaigns has led to the development of more politically active junior sections of professional and other organisations outside the universities and colleges. The Young Teachers section of the NUT and the Young Liberals section of the Liberal party, for example, have both espoused policies favouring a degree of democratization of decision-makin [illegible] ducation that have brought them disapproval from their parent [illegible] A development with, potentially, even more far-reaching im [illegible] s for the future of the education system has been the NUS's ca [illegible] to help organise secondary school pupils in the National Union of Secondary Students.

British schools have not experienced the same disruption of their normal routine by pupil protest that has become common in large city schools in the United States and in some European countries. It is a mistake for British administrators and teachers to make this a matter for complacency, however. In the first place, whether all pupil protest

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1. D. Widgery, "NUS: the Student's Muffler", in A. Cockburn and R. Blackburn (editors), Student Power: Problems, Diagnosis, Action (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969).

2. House of Commons Select Committee on Education and Science, Student Relations (London: HMSO, 1969), Vol. 1.

3. Ibid., para. 642.

4. Ibid., para. 488.

5. Ibid., para. 496.

is to be seen as rebellion is a matter of educational philosophy, that is, whether the individual is required to be unconditionally subordinate to the social institution or not. (1) It is therefore legitimate to ask how far the relatively benign state of pupil opinion in British schools is evidence of a successfully manipulative system of education. (2) But more important in the light of the present discussion is to consider whether contemporary developments in the secondary schools warrant continued belief in any such equilibrium state, whether or not this is positively valued. The main relevant factors are the development in the large cities of activist pupil organisations, such as the Schools Action Union and the National Union of School Students, the high truancy rates reported in the same areas and the desertion of the upper classes by pupils who either drop out of studies altogether or enrol in socially more congenial technical colleges and other further education institutions in which they can obtain examination qualifications. It is obviously important, and urgent, to consider whether these developments are to be regarded as acceptable, or whether they betray an inadequate appreciation by the authorities and teachers of the cultural climate in which the contemporary adolescent lives.

The demands of the secondary school pupils' organisations would surprise many foreign observers since they include the abolition of corporal punishment and of school uniforms. Other claims have included freedom of speech, participation in educational decision-making, and the re-thinking of the public examinations system. Support offered in the teachers' salary strike in 1969-70 by the Schools' Action Union was rejected by the teachers' unions; the NUT Executive has refused to talk to the Steering Committee of the NUS's, and pupils have been reported to have been prevented by constraint or threat from demonstrating in support of their demands. An exception to this pattern of reaction was that of the Rank and File, a militant left-wing group within the NUT, who have argued for equal pupil representation on school governing bodies along with teachers, parents and representatives of the local authority. (3) At the moment in the United Kingdom students are taken seriously as an interest-group in the universities and colleges, but "pupil protest" is interpreted psychologically. With mounting evidence of youthful alienation in the secondary schools, the extension of the school-leaving age to sixteen may more clearly confirm the validity of a sociological interpretation.

Available, though admittedly unsystematic, evidence suggests that in the United Kingdom, while there is considerable consensus of view over the participation issue and homogeneity in style of participative behaviour among educational administrators, a very broad range of conflicts of interest emerges among laymen, and the professionals occupy an intermediate point on the scale. The administrators are primarily concerned with maximizing the rationality of the education system and ensuring uniformity of standards in material and human resources and in effectiveness; self-criticism or evaluation of the performance of the system among administrators attends above all to economic criteria and party political arguments. Administrators tend to accept only "technical" participation and rely, for their strength, upon their occupational unity

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1. Some local authorities, including Wolverhampton and Sheffield, have secondary pupils on their governing bodies; Benn and Simon, op. cit., argue that such representation should be seen as appropriate anticipatory socialization of pupils.

2. Children's Committee of the National Council for Civil Liberties, Children Have Rights, No. 1, Children in Schools (London: National Council for Civil Liberties, n.d.).

3. Rank and File, Democracy in Schools (London: Rank and File, c. 1970).

and upon alliances forged with major political and economic interests. Teachers struggle, through a process that may be called professionalization, for a relative degree of autonomy that can govern their relations with both administrators and laymen. They seek to have power of initiative in education, to be able to try out their ideas in school organisation, curriculum and pedagogy, and they resist both bureaucratic direction and lay pressures. Their espousal of political participation, however, even when argued on educational grounds, tends to be restricted to favouring the interests of their own occupational group, if not their own particular association or union. Meanwhile, as a result of higher levels of education, information and awareness, the layman, taxpayer, employer, parent or student is becoming more demanding and is emerging like a newly awakened giant to claim what he increasingly considers to be his due. However, political participation in educational decision-making by laymen's groups is subject to very considerable cultural, social and economic selectivity, and this poses a fundamental political issue.

While the modernization of education systems has been achieved by the administrators and teachers to this point, in terms of the model of social modernization presented in Figure 1 lay participation in educational decision-making, on a more genuinely representative basis than yet practised, now appears as the legitimate direction for further development. Can it be realistically argued that the process by which the school is increasingly subject to appraisal, first by its client families, and then by community organisations, trade unions, employers' organisations, church bodies and the like, is to be regarded by administrators and teachers as largely negative in its implications, and that such involvement should, where possible, be minimized? Can it be seriously maintained that the school is capable of achieving even its own objectives better by preserving a bureaucratic anonymity and a culturally and socially isolated status? Can equality of educational opportunity in fact be more than a slogan if the government of education is not also democratized? (1)

The answers to such questions are presumably never clear or final, but it is hard to escape the conclusion that in present British circumstances the education system is obliged to adopt a more open structure, to be more accountable, and to be seen to be more accountable to the community than has been the case hitherto. (2) It may be that unless administrators and teachers accept a greater political pluralism in education they will face growing resentment, precisely because substantial proportions of the general public are more clearly coming to recognize the nature of the vital stake they have in education. It can be imagined that teachers in particular will see educational advantages in helping pupils and parents, especially those from socially disadvantaged groups, towards more responsible roles in the educational process. (3) Much modern pedagogy is built upon assumptions of the value of the learner's interest, participation and initiative, and many kinds of educational fail-

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1. The "educational" case for teacher-power is subtly argued by F. Musgrove, *Patterns of Power and Authority in English Education* (London: Methuen, 1971).

2. The Government Department of the Environment has prepared a proposal to establish Commissioners of Local Administration (ombudsmen), whose duties will include attending to educational matters not internal to the schools. See report in *Parents and Schools* (published by the Confederation for the Advancement of State Education), VI: 5, July/August 1972.

3. This point is argued by D. Birley, *Planning and Education* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972) *passim*.

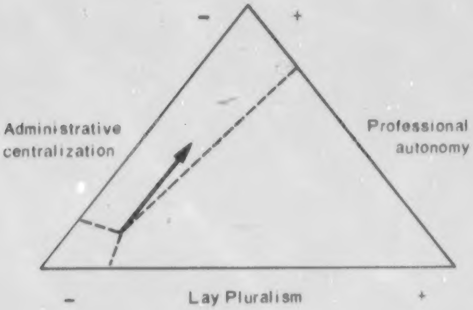
ures are understood as being attributable in large degree to the incomprehension and lack of motivational and cultural support given to pupils by their parents. Programmes of information and education for parents, leading on to participation in community-centred schools, may become recognized, as they already are by a minority of educators, as the best educational solution. Moreover, professional autonomy built upon public understanding could immeasurably increase the strength of the teachers in policy-making roles in the government of education in which they currently enjoy only a marginal status.

III. PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY-MAKING: A MODEL FOR DISCUSSION

The three major categories of participants in educational policy-making can be represented diagrammatically in a triangle in which each side corresponds to the theoretical spectrum of "low" to "high" influence exercised in the system on behalf of administrative, professional and lay interests respectively. An educational institution, district or system could, in principle, be located by a set of three co-ordinates in the triangular space. In addition, a prediction could be made of the direction of changes likely to occur. These features are combined in the model of participation in educational policy-making proposed in Figure 2, in which the national education system in the United Kingdom has been tentatively plotted.

Figure 2

THE DISTRIBUTION OF INFLUENCE IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY-MAKING



The estimated present character of the system with respect to the relative distribution of influence within the policy-making process between the three broad interest-groups is shown by a cross at the point of convergence of the three co-ordinates, and the hypothesized probable direction of evolution of this distribution is shown by an arrow. (1) Thus, the British system is shown as currently exhibiting relatively high administrative centralization, moderate professional autonomy and low lay pluralism. This plotting summarizes earlier discussion and places the focus upon those forces which are tugging the existing system out of its present shape and towards a different configuration. While the authorities will attempt to preserve the powers thought necessary for administering the national education system, it is hypothesized that the processes by which policy goals are determined and vetted will in the future have to allow for greater professional and lay participation, with the latter less weighted in favour of traditionally dominant social, economic and political interests.

Although for the purposes of exemplification only one national system of education has been considered in this paper, it is likely that the usefulness of the model in raising questions about educational objectives, criteria for efficiency, institutional forms and democratic rights would be greater in comparative analyses, and particularly if applied to much smaller educational units. After further work to develop criteria for assessing the relative influence of the three power bases in decision-making at differing levels in the education systems, the most revealing analysis would probably result from applying the model to single schools or local districts. It is particularly at this level that an effort needs to be made to distinguish the idiosyncrasies of unique circumstances and personalities from problems of cultural and structural features which are far too often ignored in educational research and development. (2)

Fundamentally, however, and regardless of the level of the analysis, changes in the political structure of educational decision-making involve changes in educational goals. The present discussion must rest upon the assumption that such changes in goals are occurring. If personal, rather than institutional, values are gaining support, if grass-roots political demands by professionals and laymen can no longer be treated with indifference, if conflict over cultural and educational issues is coming to be regarded as civilized, legitimate and potentially creative rather than the opposite, then greater political pluralism in education must develop. It would of course be unrealistic to expect decision-making structures in education to be markedly more pluralist than those in other sectors. The main strength of the general prediction implied in the triangular diagram, however, is that education is not a lead sector, but a lagging sector in the degree to which its real politicization has been recognized and taken into account by official policy-makers. (3) We are discussing political participation in education precisely because we are living within broader cultural systems which generate the expectation for such participation.

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1. The model proposed is not theoretical in the strict sense, nor are the forces it represents quantifiable. It is rather of the "projective" type suggested by Schon. See D.A. Schon, Beyond the Stable State: Public and Private Learning in a Changing Society (London: Temple Smith, 1971), p.234. Schon's general discussion on dealing with uncertainty in contemporary social change is most relevant to the main issues of this paper.

2. J. Lynch and H.D. Plunkett, Teacher Education and Cultural Change: England, France, West Germany (London: George Allen and Unwin, forthcoming) is an extended discussion of the decision-making in one subsector of education subject to cultural and social change.

3. See references to the Seebohm and Skeffington Reports, above.

XV

POTENTIALITIES FOR POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING

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I. THE SCOPE OF PLANNING

> "The plan can contribute toward a centralizing tendency or it can serve the purpose of creating a framework within which participation can be made more viable."(1)

This quotation from the theme paper for the participatory planning meeting succinctly sets out the two main directions which thought and policy about the development of educational policy have taken.

Any programmatic activity that is sufficiently coherent to warrant the label of planning must concern itself with identifying some limited number of overriding common themes or lines of action that will coordinate the diverging actions of many men. But, on the other hand, to produce only a blueprint for a desired future that leaves out of account the varying motivations of the people whose future is in question would be to engage in frivolity. In many discussions of planning, writers imply that their aim is to create policies that will be instrumental for achieving a set of stipulated goals. Perhaps in reality what men decide that they have wanted to achieve is in large part revealed to them by the means they have been using to achieve diverse and rather vaguely conceived private and special aims. The spontaneity and the emergent innovativeness of concrete actions rarely can be subordinated neatly to any single picture of what men ideally should be striving to accomplish.

II. THE EMERGENT AUTONOMY OF HUMAN MOTIVATIONS

"Planning" in principle can be part of the operations of any sector or realm of a society. In some spheres (such as planning of highways), human behaviour can be pre-programmed in great detail; other examples would be the design of sewage-waste systems for large cities or the layout of interlocking systems for distributing electric power nationwide. Education, by contrast, is an activity in which planning must explicitly include programming for spontaneity. Instruction is expected to be in most respects something more subtle than animal training. Moreover, in at least the "humanistic" components of curricula, educational programmes reflect local folkways and values. Despite widespread acknowledgement of the desirability that schools serve to unite all people in a society through shared lessons in schools, a school also must encourage spontaneous activity by its graduates while preparing these individuals to participate in both parochial and ecumenical social relationships. This built-in tension within educational planning takes several forms that are briefly sketched out in the following paragraphs.

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1. Quoted from Part One.

III. THE FOSTERING OF INNOVATION

A preoccupation of administrators and supervisors in every school system is to insure that teachers will follow recommended techniques of instruction in order to produce a reasonably standardized competence among all pupils. It is not surprising that "drill" is widely used in some topics of instruction: uniform practices in spelling words, dependable habits in using the basic arithmetic processes, a reasonably "standard" spoken language. In our day, the practices of instruction, even for the most basic skills, are undergoing continual modification. These innovations normally are adopted first by a relatively few schools that enrol pupils with the highest aspirations, that command larger quantities of resources, or that are located at the nodes of communication within the educational system. At the same time that schools are being pulled toward adoption of uniform practices, they are also being pressed by the local culture to attach children firmly to traditional ways of their own community - but not at the cost of maladapting graduates to performance of the more interesting and lucrative tasks in the society. Dissemination of innovations is not a rote process of just adding a new practice onto an existing repertoire of the teachers; innovation, rather, flourishes best among those sets of teachers whose present practices are most reflective and who continually are making innovations independently of outside influence.

When we trace the life-history of a given innovation, we find that a few schools are the first to borrow the new practice. After a few years, the distribution of schools by degree of change tends to resemble a top with a long upward spindle and a low centre of gravity. In due course, the distribution moves toward a concentration of most schools within the adoptive category; the top now has a long downward spindle. This mechanical analogy is misleading, however, in the sense that systematic arrangements of communicating information about innovations can reduce the length of lag time between the more forward-moving and the more somnolent school systems. The problem for educational officials is to devise communication schemes that stimulate adoption of innovations without reducing the sphere for autonomous innovation by the more alert communities or school systems.

IV. HAZARDS IN DEVOLUTION OF DECISION-MAKING

In every society, the localities with distinctively high aspirations for possession of an effective educational system parallel the distribution of resources for supporting what local citizens believe to be "high quality" education. These differences tend also to be accompanied by provincial or "tribal" sentiments of exclusiveness.

If one focuses upon innovation and upon high quality educational systems, the case for decentralized educational operations will appear to be a strong one. If the high quality systems are not themselves the innovators, they will be closely in touch with the other innovative systems and with research agencies. A considerable number of systems will follow the leaders within a fairly short time. A large proportion of school systems, however, will reflect the apathetic outlook and scarcity of resources of communities that rank low on almost every measure of change or modernity. The protection of the right to dissent on policy is the protection of innovation - and of apathy.

Few of us would admire an arrangement that depends upon administrative orders or fiscal bribes to prod the lagging half of school districts into perfunctory adoption of new practices. Preoccupation with removing all disparities in educational opportunity can throttle the spontaneities that produce productive novelties. The task for innovative planning is rather to devise advisory, consultative, and participative practices in decision-making that stimulate arousal among the apathetic of appreciation for the benefits of innovation. One can quickly identify a few necessary, though probably not sufficient, conditions for achieving this arousal. It is necessary to devise ways in which objective assessments of quality can inform different school systems of their rank on a scale of quality. It is necessary to devise denser networks of communication between pioneering and lagging districts. And ways must be found to convince dispirited residents of lagging communities that new practices in their schools can be expressive of local aspirations.

Innovation of new educational practices is not a problem for education today; research agencies and business enterprises will generate a sufficient supply of instructional innovations. The problem, rather, is to devise effective techniques for more rapid dissemination of innovations, especially for dissemination into the now backward school systems. But innovation is more a question of acceptance than of imposition; a school rarely can be more change oriented than are the residents of the surrounding community.

V. EFFECTIVE PLANNING RESTS ON A CONCEPT OF LEARNING

An efficacious policy nourishes activities that embody enthusiastic motivations guided by proven incentives. Change is an indicator of the pursuit of particular goals, not vague aims. Men rarely have a clear picture of what they want, however, until they have attained their goal. Attainment surely will be more stimulating to complementary accomplishments when the former comes as the reward for perceived opportunities reached through self-oriented striving.

To say that planning should rest on a concept of learning if it dependably will lead to improved educational arrangements is to offer a tantalizing proposition. Surely an "open school" can be inaugurated without "open" ways of deciding to adopt it. Incentives for individualized learning can be set up by paternalists and function well. In Norman England there was "self-government by the King's command", as one historian described it. For me, it is crucial to decide whether education is conceived as the nourishing of talent or the fostering of persons. A preoccupation with narrowly cognitive specifications can be expected to foster progressively more specialized and rigid procedures for instruction. Thus, we can set up elaborate procedures for selecting who will continue in school or enrol in particular schools. On the other hand, one can plan for a diversity of pupils' experiences, with the accompanying trials and errors or successes and failures almost randomly distributed among kinds of pupils and spheres of learning. To adopt the latter picture of what instruction will do is not to adopt the sterile notion that learning is mainly a form of communion, of feeling rather than thinking. Good schools utilize both shared and private learning to foster the enthusiasms of accomplishment, no matter how diverse are the capabilities of fellow pupils. We now know that dispersion of achievement is greater within individual schools than it is among the schools of one system or among the systems in one nation. Perhaps "educational progress" must depend more upon pedagogical events within schools than upon nationwide diffusion of new practices. One task is to diminish the lust for excelling over fellow pupils while avoiding elimination of individuality - including the individuality which means better or worse.

VI. THE AUTHORITY OF INSTRUCTIONAL AGENTS

Instruction, along with many other varieties of socialization, utilizes authority to produce individuals capable of acting autonomously in many relationships that embody a minimum of authority. Within the sphere of education, there are many aspects of authority quite apart from the trite example of discipline and drill. The criteria for inclusion and for elimination of topics in the process of constructing a curriculum presuppose authoritative judgements of pertinence and effectiveness. The superordinate position of the teacher, even without the charisma of the specially adept instructor, rests upon several varieties of authority. To be sure, we are not speaking of authority in the sense of military drill. But the role of "playground bully" lurks near the surface in all participatory relationships and it contaminates many classroom relationships.

It is not illegitimate use of authority to foist upon dependent pupils some accepted standards of what is essential "for a good education". Even advanced students seldom can have a clear notion of what they will find it pleasant or useful to learn until they have succeeded in learning it. Learning presupposes accepting an authority over one's compliance while one is learning how to learn and to select among alternative programmes of instruction. But pupils cannot be expected to accept pedagogic authority throughout their school career. It is important that schools foster pupils' capability to recognize valid instructional authority and that they discover how to attach their enthusiasms to programmes of learning. Thereby, they become adept at validating for themselves increasingly complex forms of instructional authority.

Performance of adult roles in complex societies requires the acceptance of universalistic standards in place of biased and partial norms for performance. Qualification for acting responsibly and in non-traditional ways, even in humble positions, presupposes that individuals have learned to take an objective view of the self. This capability is more likely to be acquired if individuals play an active part in their own education. They must learn to judge their own competence on more than one scale. One can contribute little to a given joint decision unless he knows the import of alternative decisions.

Participation, then, is not merely joint discussion. It is an interlocutory assessment of alternatives by the use of cogent criteria of merit and performance. Effective decision has a thrust; it is directional. Choice of a direction for policy presupposes validated criteria of performance in the activities that embody what participants perceive to be the chosen goals for a programme. A high-level school is one in which the pupils accept standards for the classroom that are no less strict than those applied on the sports field. The authority of the teacher generates a climate for learning that rises above mere communion.

VII. PLANNING VERSUS SELF-DIRECTION

Some advocates of planning for education favour blueprinted specifications for supplying society with a certain "needed" spectrum of skills and occupational capabilities. Another set of proponents urge that opportunities for education shall reflect whatever spectrum of curricula or programmes citizens of a society prefer: so-called "social" demand. To me, the first notion is factitious and provides no firm basis for deciding what kind or amount of education shall be made available, nor to whom. The "social demand" viewpoint is equally unsatisfactory; it rests on no criteria of price for skills or of choice between options but views education as a free good.

I offer what I would like to believe is an alternative design for educational decisions. I see this design as especially fitted to maximize participation by concerned persons (youth, parents, employers, spokesmen for the polity). It is my view that "development of the individual and particularly his capacity to choose his own objectives, learning pathway, career, and further education" (1) will be optimal when the process of decision-making rests upon individual choices. Indeed, as Hayward says, people must develop to a critical level "in their capacity for self-management". Such a viewpoint cannot accept a policy of supplying education on the basis of authoritatively specified vocational openings. It rejects also the supplying of one after another increment of schooling to individuals who have failed to reach an appreciation of education's potentials for their own lives.

In most contemporary societies, the scope of education is continually being enlarged. Schooling occupies more and more years of individuals' lives. Schools progressively are moving toward what has come to be called "open admission". For many individuals, however, continued schooling has become a kind of conscription. For other persons (who, most of us hope, will not become a shrinking proportion) efficacious education will rest upon avowed participation by the individual in the educational decisions that affect him. Individuals do learn to make educational choices in the light of internalized universalistic criteria. They do learn to balance benefits against sacrifices to create what the economist calls "effective demand". The individual is responding to an estimate of the worth to him of more education. He is responding to incentives by allowing his primary motivations to be engaged in selection of the most attractive opportunity for education. Individuals can make such a selection only to the degree that the operation of schools is influenced by choices of actual or potential patrons rather than by the decisions of paternalistic officials.

This line of argument implies that "guidance" usually rests on misconceptions. That activity mistakenly assumes that someone can direct others into their best courses of life. In actuality, incentives can be effective only when complemented by information supplied to individuals. Participation, then, is not solely a discussion of preferences. It is sharing in the making of choices by sets of individuals who knowingly surrender resources (money, time, other careers, etc.) in order to obtain the most rewarding kinds of education.

In short, individuals can internalize the criteria needed for the making of autonomous choices. The availability of suitable external information insures that these choices can be both autonomous and relevant.

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1. Cf. Part One.

VIII. THE DEMAND OF PLANNING FOR CONSISTENCY AND COHERENCE

Planning inescapably confronts the task of coherently arranging parts into an integrated pattern for a whole. The activities within any sphere of a society occur in particular localities; they are in, but not of, a society. The aim is to insure that the activities for localities add up to a whole programme. Unfortunately, even if coherence be attained for one sector (such as education), this will not insure coherence at the societal level between education and industry.

In most prescriptions for planning, the persons on behalf of whom the planning is done usually are supposed to have some influence. Hence we read about workers' councils, legislatures, advisory boards, etc. But to speak of these agencies is immediately to confront the question as to the representativeness of the participants or delegates. It is also to confront the problem of compromises that obliterate local individuality and needs.

It is a major principle of law that the procedures for making decisions take priority over the right of authorities to dictate the content of decisions. It seems to me that my intermediate position set out above (between manpower prescriptions and social demand) puts the emphasis upon procedures for participation. The desirable policy, as I see it, is not solely to propose devolution to lower and more local units: schools, communes, occupational associations, etc. I am more interested in society-wide procedures for insuring that clients and others directly involved in schools will make deliberate choices among policies.

This aim requires that we allow the individuals affected to know what alternatives face them and what the implications of different choices (among educational alternatives) would be. It argues for allowing major choices about the accumulation and allocation of resources for schools to be made by citizens of the communities served by schools. Individuals can, we assume, learn to view their own performance universalistically and thereby encompass the basic choices for planning effective education into the conscious planning of their own lives. That capability is fostered largely by encouraging individuals to take an active role in their own education throughout the course of their schooling.

A completely decentralized arrangement for making educational decisions would encourage a widening of educational levels between high-aspiration districts and districts with mainly apathetic parents, and it would slow up the dissemination of better practices throughout the whole world of schools. Such decentralization would frustrate the use of criteria of quality in operation of schools and allow participation to become ritualistic and non-intellectual communion. The alternative need not be a monolithic hierarchy of educational authority prescribing the details of curricula and pedagogic practices; in such a climate, both participation and innovation would wither. The strategy that is needed will lay out effective communication of standards for performance by schools throughout the whole system and a parallel accumulation of evidence about actual performance while encouraging dissemination of new practices without drying up local aspirations and local participation in identifying ways to root innovations within the changing local culture.

XVI

PLANNING PARTICIPATORY PLANNING: SOME THESES

by

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"Participation makes sense only if there is something to participate in. To participate in the work of a committee that has nothing to say is more frustrating than being excluded altogether."

Hellmut Becker

I. THE ISSUE IS POLITICAL

In recent decades, planning has begun to bridge the classical Weberian dichotomy between "Wissenschaft" (science as the organised pursuit of knowledge) and "Politik" (politics as the organised exercise of power). In fact, planning may be considered as the organised application of objective data and analysis to the implementation of one's will. Yet the question of whether, and how, planning should be instituted in a particular field - the planning of planning - seems definitely to be of a political nature.

II. TO FOLLOW, OR FACILITATE, OR FALSIFY, SO-CALLED TRENDS APPEARS INADEQUATE

If, within this "planning of the planning", scholars and practioners are called to find out what the trends are and then make recommendations to the politicians, they must proceed with great caution. In the first place, the trends are, to say the least, ambiguous. The fact that most industrial societies are witnessing both a crisis of their traditional social and political institutions and a springing up of new initiatives from the "base" seems to justify the statement contained in several of the papers submitted for the participatory planning meeting: that there is a general and notable "trend" towards a "participatory society". With this positive evidence in hand, one could confidently recommend, as a follow-up, what appears to be the logical consequence, namely, that participation should be institutionalized and made to work.

The opposite, however, may be equally true. Just as people are more obsessed with getting a suntan the fewer their chances are of being outside, so it may be that the ever louder call for participation is a proof of its absolute decrease, a reaction to the awareness that our potential of participation has finally been depleted. The "trend" of our time may very well be towards:

- an ever increasing rigour of the "system";
- a complex aggregate of institutions, mechanisms, and standards that produces ever more constraints, masked as either commodities or necessities;

- greater dependence on the authority of the expert and increasing intimidation of the common sense (the expert must always be asked and never questioned);
- subjection of politics, itself, to the techniques of collecting, computerizing and arranging data, thereby changing it from responsible decision-making into a gigantic and automatic process of "levelling off";
- a growing fear of having the delicately planned fabric upset by spontaneous acts and individual will;
- and, therefore, channelling the quest for participation into elaborate, spectacular and well defined, but totally "innocuous", mechanisms.

Again, this view is not conclusive. Why would the opponents to participation fight it so vigorously if there were not something to lose? The professors as well as publishers, the technicians as well as the teachers, the bureaucrats as well as the businessmen, the military as well as the manufacturers, all echo the same arguments, and they do so on very practical grounds. Participation, they claim, distracts the institution from its primary business, costs time and money, provokes conflict and polarization instead of abating them, and discredits and ultimately destroys the political institutions we have, that is, "participation, if wrongly understood". Although they put up resistence whereever they can - even in fields in which they have no competence and thereby violate their own rule such as, for example, the German Manufacturers' Association in the field of general public education - they feel that, in principle, they should agree to this device so long as it has no consequences.

Whatever this opposition means for the assessment of the "trend", it is safe to say that because the opposition is so powerful (by definition, it has the power to defend what the others want a share in), any realization [illegible] participation will be either outside the power structure or a makeshift, an illusion that will ultimately aggravate things. In the end, disillusion will turn those who trusted in the principle of participation into despots or anarchists.

III. "PARTICIPATION" IS SAFEGUARDED AS AN ASPECT OF "DEMOCRATIZATION"

The established people and institutions pay respect to the principle of participation because it successfully claims to go with democracy. In order to divorce participation (as a pattern of action that could be applied universally) from democracy (as a well-defined political constitution) they constantly raise the issue to the level of ideological theory.

The proponents of participation - for obvious reasons - try to bring it down to the level of practical implementation. In this way the two parties to the contest not only never meet on the same ground, they never fully develop their arguments. This will do more harm to the challenger than to the defendant, who is likely to respond directly to the needs and problems as they present themselves and not to the conditions that have caused them.

There are at least three levels at which the participation syndrome should be discussed:

i) the level of social philosophy: this would include such varied issues as the contradiction between our reliance on division of labour in practically all realms of life and our insistence on shared responsibility (the theme goes back to Plato); the notion of a "technological realization" that is about to replace the social realization (this point is being raised by Galbraith); the various forms of systems analysis: the denunciation of technocracy in the service of capitalism; the proposals for re-tooling society in response to its "radical monopolies" (this is Ivan Illich's point); all the way down to the re-birth of anarchist theory on the one hand and behaviouristic anthropology on the other. In all of them, the question is asked: What calls for a re-distribution of power, tools, opportunities and responsibility? Why participation at all?

ii) the level of organisational problems: this would include technical, legal and economic matters as well as all structural and quantitative aspects; the degree of and the limits to participation, the groups involved, the proportions of their representation; the definition of tasks and procedures; provisions for communication, information, mediation, appeal, development of participation, etc. The implicit question here is: How is participation institutionalized and facilitated?

iii) the level of semantics and of historical evidence or precedence: this would include the question of whether participation is rightly conceived as an integral part of democratization and whether democratization could legitimately be interpreted to mean the transfer of the principles and procedures of political democracy to all other realms of social life, equality of the constituents, responsibility from top to bottom, majority rule and minority protection, in short, the question of whether democracy is a concept term of constitutional law or a way, or style of life. In all this, the main question is: How do we communicate about this problem?

IV. PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING IS NOT SOUGHT BECAUSE IT IS NEEDED AND REWARDING BUT BECAUSE IT IS A PRIVILEGE RESERVED TO THE FEW; ONCE IT BECOMES GENERAL PRACTICE, AND EVEN AN OBLIGATION, PEOPLE ARE LIKELY TO AVOID OR NEGLECT IT

Participatory planning is the third phase of the participatory movement. First came the "advisory" phase. Groups of people or institutions - such as the universities, teachers' unions, parents' organisations or students - wanted to be both informed and consulted ("heard") before measures were taken that concerned them. Then came the "decision" phase. The various groups claimed seats and voting power in the executive organs, and along with this came the fight over the proportion in which these groups were to be represented in those bodies. The third phase began when it was realized that setting up the framework - developing curricula, establishing procedures and standards (e.g. for tests and examinations), gaining a voice in planning and critique - was infinitely more important than participating in the decisions that would be made within that framework.

The desire for participation in these activities will be genuine and strong so long as they are controlled by a small group and give rise to the suspicion that the planning process is used against the interests of those planned for. The members of the planning oligarchy, on the other hand, try to do a good job because their privilege ultimately rests on greater knowledge, harder work and impressive expertise and efficiency which makes their position seem unattainable. In fact, they accept criticism and suggestions at times because this tends to reinforce the hierarchy.

When planning will have been democratized, the majority will realize the price which must be paid for this privilege: long work hours and, even so, premature decisions and unsatisfying compromises; exposure to constant contention and no applause; heavy responsibility and sacrifice of one's own interests and creativity to group dynamics or to the conceits and inferiority complexes of others who have more time because they have fewer ideas, tasks and priorities. The idea of participation will then become the victim of mediocrity.

If participation in planning, as well as in other fields, is to be a success, both its principles and its processes must be sought on the basis of well-reasoned and well-documented answers to these questions:

- What need will participatory planning effectively satisfy? (Is it genuine or will it pass with the change of focus?)
- Can participation and "doing the job" be combined so that both continue to be what they are? (What about the many "jobs" that surpass the competence and the influence of the "participants"? What about the "participation" that amounts to "common attendance of uncommon subjects"?)
- What consequences will result from participation for the maintenance of other values so highly cherished and proclaimed in our society: affluence and consumption, safety and certainty, competence and competition? (Must they first be changed, or will they change with participation?)
- What institutional conditions have to be guaranteed outside participatory planning in education before we embark upon it? (What degree of autonomization, simplification, reduction of size and quantity must precede it?)

V. IN A COMPLEX SOCIETY BASED ON DIVISION OF LABOUR, RATIONALIZED COMMUNICATION AND HIGH PRODUCTIVITY, PARTICIPATION IS BOTH A MEANS AND AN END

If participation is one aspect of democratization, what "needs" does democratization promise to satisfy in our present stage of cultural, social, political, and technological development? There are at least four conspicuous, distinct, and in some ways contradictory, needs to which democratization responds:

i) many people, particularly the underprivileged and the morally sensitive, want to continue and consummate the age-old struggle for the control of power: necessary power must be made responsible; unnecessary, non-institutionalized and illegitimate power must be detected and abolished, a never-ending process since power seems to regenerate itself constantly;
ii) some hope to relieve themselves of psychological and moral pressure that comes with decision-making: increasing numbers of people have responsibilities which they know are too great and which they therefore merge into group-processes;
iii) many people hope for more relevant tasks: they have become aware that the price which must be paid for high standards of

living and increased leisure and opportunities is the irrelevance of their total existence; they want to escape the fragmentation and emptiness of private activity in the midst of social langour and are willing to undergo risk, strife and sacrifice in participation in the hope of gaining a feeling of importance and belonging in return;

iv) most people suffer, unconsciously, from the consequences of a profound crisis of our technical civilization which produces almost automatically things, events and conditions which no single person seems to want. Our situation resembles that of the sorcerer's apprentice: we no longer command our own instruments.

Of these four needs of present-day society, participation in planning and decision-making will, at best, answer the second one. And this limitation will not be removed by shrewd mechanisms and modes of representation or voting!

The much talked about transition of our "industrial society" into a "post-industrial society" has been misinterpreted, at least in one very important respect. It has been said that the characteristic feature will no longer be (the concern with) productivity but systematic self-realization; instead of being an "achieving-society" we are supposed to become a "learning and leisure society". This interpretation is a product of mere extrapolation of present patterns of behaviour and expectation.

An interpretation which I find more plausible is that the high productivity by which industrial society has mastered scarcity has produced an intricate system of tools, connections, and functions; this system is characterized by a high degree of complexity, interdependence, and abstraction which makes it impossible for the individual to understand, to control, and to relate his social life to his personal experience. If the system is to be changed, the means, the knowledge, and the spare time that our technological civilization offers us must be reinvested in the complicated and important processes of common steering, mutual information and constant re-balancing of our common conditions of life; they are not commodities to be privately consumed. We owe our society criticism and vigilance and the time it takes to exercise them. We must restore life to what Aristotle had in mind when he defined man as "a being that lives in a *polis*". We must restore the *polis* and that means to convert the abstractions of our social institutions into something *I* can do, *I* can experience, *I* can enjoy, *I* can care and be responsible for.

In the *polis*, participation was not solely a means for politics; to act and live "politically", with the other citizens, was an end in itself. The citizens that gathered and discussed and voted on the *agora* also carried out what they had resolved. They were few enough to know each other; they were able to judge the matters they talked about from experience. And this life was enjoyed as such.

Ivan Illich has called the aim of his radical programme of social and political change as that of bringing about a new "conviviality". Since we cannot return to the idyllic conditions of antiquity or the Middle Ages, a less antiquated and romantic expression might be more appropriate: participation - i.e., the exchange of arguments, ideas, and convictions, shaping them into an acceptable design and deciding in common - must be considered as part of our productivity.

VI. THE IDEA AND PRACTICE OF PARTICIPATORY PLANNING ARE LIMITED BY THE VERY STRUCTURE OF OUR SOCIETY THAT MAKES THEM DESIRABLE

From the foregoing brief analysis, a number of difficulties for the institution of participatory planning immediately become apparent:

i) Participation in planning and decision-making may increase the frustration that people feel in a present-day fragmented and alienated society: at the lower levels the margin for change is too narrow and at the upper levels the substance too scanty to yield satisfaction. "Upper levels" imply matters of a wide range and manageable only in formalized, even quantitative, ways. Planning has become a highly specialized and time-consuming activity that can only in part be combined with trying, carrying out and correcting the course as it develops; as such, planning is an alienating function in itself.

ii) Participation confronts not only a vertical division of labour but also horizontal compartmentalization. The most rigorous dependence in our civilization is the interdependence of specialized fields or phases of our social life. The most serious obstacles to "transparency" are the barriers of competence. There is no absolute power and only little true hierarchy within any single realm of society. The actual power of superiors consists mainly of the right to be superficial in being unspecialized and able to co-ordinate dispersed specialization and in knowing vaguely what happens next door; knowledge which the specialist does not possess.

iii) Participation will be frustrating as long as local interests continue to be subjected to regional or universal compromise. Unless participation carries with it a higher degree of autonomy, it will most certainly be abandoned to functionaries.

iv) Participation based on greater autonomy of smaller units will mean less productivity, that is, less of that which provides us with the means, the leisure and, in part, the incentive for participation.

v) Participation operating within the autonomy of smaller units will foster provincialism and the growth of ideologies; participatory planning in education may lead, on the one hand, to elitist and sectarian schools and curricula and, on the other, to an inequality of opportunity and immobility that are without parallel in our cultural history (because the opportunities in life have never before depended so heavily on education).

vi) Participation may not only prove to be a new source of frustration, but it may finally be rejected in itself. Many people find it easier to suffer blows of destiny or to blame a superior than to bear the consequences of their own wrong decisions and lack of vision.

vii) Participation, alone, will render situations more vague and more complicated. More people will be engaged in more places, with more groups having different identities and conflicting interests, temperaments and timetables. The co-ordination of the various occasions and forms of participation as well as the priorities and costs must, themselves, be planned. Who is going to plan this planning and who is going to participate in it?

viii) Participation, in planning more than in other activities, presupposes not only a different mentality but a change of a number of physical and organisational conditions, yet both the new mentality and the new conditions are likely to evolve only through participatory practices.

VII. PARTICIPATION REQUIRES MORE THAN ITS INSTITUTIONALIZATION; IN FACT, ORGANISATIONAL OPTIMISM MAY VERY WELL WRECK THE CHANCES OF THIS IDEA: A COMBINATION OF RENUNCIATIONS, PRECONDITIONS AND PRECAUTIONS IS PREREQUISITE FOR ITS SUCCESS

In order to secure a meaningful and satisfying participation in educational planning

we must give up

- centralization of planning, decision-making and placement;
- the fiction of unity, uniformity, and universality (the claim for standardization is maintained in the name of justice and mobility, but the mobility in the school systems of the USA and the United Kingdom is well known to be greater than in the more rigidly centralized and uniform systems of the continent; this unity focuses on exterior criteria and prevents seeing and overcoming the underlying difficulties);
- the present system of standardized certification;
- part, at least, of the low costs, affluence, and perfection of the educational materials and technology (which seem to be economical and available only when sold in great quantities);
- the jargon need in the educational establishment;
- the established hierarchy with educational research and theory at the top and teaching practice at the bottom (the students do not even rank in the hierarchy);

we must set up

- smaller units with a high degree of autonomy in planning and decision-making, in recruitment of personnel, and in allocation of means;
- a general framework for limiting, clearly stating and protecting laws within which this autonomy can operate;
- a system of supervision that keeps the institutions exposed to the public eye and a subject for discussion;
- information in the form of data banks and highly qualified consultation which should include organisational aid, models of representation, voting procedures, planning devices, budgeting, etc.;
- a publication and communication service;
- a system of finance that assures the subsistence of the institutions on common terms but also allows for special grants; the institutions should be permitted to allocate their money individually within certain limits of convertibility and differently from

year to year; vouchers may be a means to guarantee both minimal standards and flexibility;
- mediators for cases of conflict, appeal and redress, general standards for judgement;
- successful examples of asceticism in the face of affluence (which is altogether different from asceticism in the face of want);

we must provide for

- opportunities for people to build up their own institutions; in fact, the way in which a group co-operates to create its forms of participatory planning and decision-making is more important than the rules, procedures, and institutions they come up with, particularly should alienation and domination be caused by not mastering the institution: one knows best what one has made;
- a minimum of pluralism; one way to assure this is by the establishment of subgroups of mathematical symmetry (as in the constitution of Cleisthenes); what is important is that no one group should be able to act alone;

we must guard against

- a sterile equating of the rules and procedures of parliamentary democracy with those of participatory groups: they must be analogous, but not rigidly identical;
- the "hidden curriculum" of group dynamics and participatory pressure that tends to suppress my problem, to depreciate my plans, to discourage my initiative.

VIII. IF THESE CONDITIONS ARE FULFILLED, PARTICIPATORY PLANNING IN EDUCATION CAN BECOME AN EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY, BUT IT SHOULD NOT BE PLANNED AS SUCH

The major handicap of present-day mass democracy is that people do not truly believe in its institutions and principles (as they do believe in pressure, competition, and acquiescence) because, until they are adult, they have not experienced for themselves how democracy works. Their learning process was an autocratic experience. Inasmuch as democracy is a flexible system and, in fact, identical with democratization (i.e. a process) the whole democratic commonweal is a constant learning group. "Democracy" is not "having a democratic constitution" but "providing the chance to learn its meaning and use". The re-invention of the framework, the planning of its continuity and change, and the participation in the responsibility are, in themselves, the most important and most difficult lesson we can learn in our social institutions. Specialization will come by "doing", be it a theoretical activity or a practical one. If our teachers remain subaltern, both as scholars and as political citizens, schools will at best produce more subaltern and more discontented people, and rebels.

IX. PARTICIPATORY PLANNING SHOULD BE DEMONSTRATED IN MODEL INSTITUTIONS BEFORE BEING INTRODUCED ON A WIDE SCALE

The University of Bielefeld has been granted two model institutions, a laboratory school for children aged 5 to 16 and a college for the age-group 17 to 21. They are conceived as curriculum research and development agencies and, because the two schools have been declared "scientific projects", they have been made responsible for their own planning to an unusual degree. The planning, which is shared in by students, parents and scientists, is part of the experimental project, now in its third year. The staff are being recruited from both school teachers and university people; they co-opt their own members and work out their own constitution as well as the architectural, financial, educational and research plans which they defend before the Ministry of Education, the state Parliament and the constitutional bodies of the university of which they are an integral part. They devise curricula, experiment with new teaching techniques and organisational patterns, and export them to other schools. Together, the two schools will ultimately comprise some 1,500 students and 130 staff. So far, the whole thing works.

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These theses are a plea for participation in educational planning. They are a warning against premature "solutions" conceived at the level of technicality and without the participation of those who are primarily, if sometimes irrationally, concerned. Unless we take seriously the underlying motives and disturbances we shall produce another alibi for the established institutions. Those who seek participation in planning, thus far denied to them, face at least two different dangers: true abuses and subconscious frustrations that have their source far beyond the activity in which they wish to participate.

Our solutions must beware of two mistakes: technocracy and therapy. Education can be neither and should not be planned so.

XVII

SOME BASIC CONCEPTS IN PARTICIPATION

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I. BASIC CONCEPTS IN PARTICIPATION

It is the object of these brief notes to set out certain concepts which I believe are fundamental to a clarification of the processes of participation.

In the first place, participation is concerned not with management in the active sense of a manager's managing subordinates but with setting the policies, limits and objectives within which management is carried out. Failure to recognize this distinction has led to unrealistic ideas of groups' making managerial decisions. It has led also to the notion that uneducated workers cannot participate as well as more educated staff because they find it difficult to take part in day-to-day managerial decisions in programming, research, sales, etc.

In order to be clear about these distinctions, it is necessary first of all to establish the difference between associations and bureaucratic hierarchies. An association is any collectivity of individuals, be it a company of shareholders, a nation, a local community, a collective of trade unionists or of co-operators. Associations of this kind are political collectivities; that is to say, they govern themselves by political means, through elected representatives - boards, governments, central committees - or by governing bodies appointed by these elected representatives.

When associations wish to get work done, they usually employ people to do it. These employees are most commonly established in managerial employment systems - whether in factories, trade union offices, co-operative stores, civil service departments, social service agencies, or educational systems. These managerial systems I shall refer to as bureaucratic hierarchies. All bureaucratic hierarchies, whether in factories, offices or school systems, have the same properties.

A general structure of associations and bureaucratic hierarchies may be illustrated as follows: (see next page)

It is important for practical purposes to recognize that associations may be simple or complex. A simple association is one in which all the members have agreed to elect one common central representative body; that is to say, as in the case of a local community, they have agreed to function as a single democratic entity electing representatives by majority vote: those representatives in turn function by majority voting in committee.

A complex association, by contrast, is one made up of two or more distinct and separate power groups, each having its right to elect its own group of representatives as an independent block on the central committee. Complex associations occur where the co-operation of each power group is essential to the functioning of the institution. Thus, for example, the Security Council is a central committee of a complex association. So, too, as I shall try to show, is the council of a university. Complex associations function by each power group's electing its own representatives by majority voting to a council or governing body which in turn should requisitely function by unanimous voting. This latter procedure enables each power group to participate in policy formation

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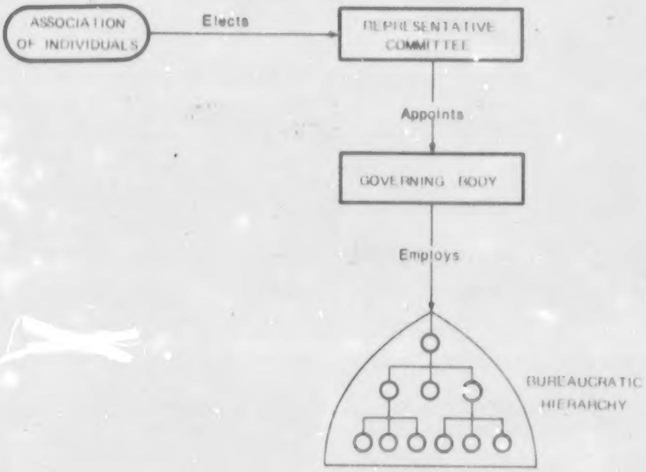
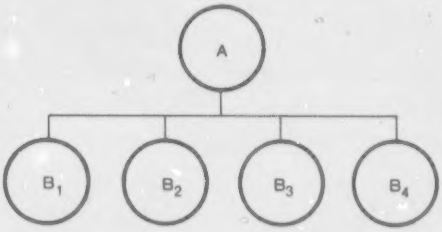


under conditions where no changes which are strongly unacceptable can be foisted upon them by the other groups. Change can occur only as quickly as acceptable policies are discovered, but when such changes are agreed there is hope that they can be effectively implemented.

Associations are political representative institutions. Bureaucratic hierarchies are managerial institutions; that is to say, they are made up of networks of teams of manager and subordinates -

$$A \longrightarrow B_1 \quad B_2 \quad B_3 \quad \ldots$$



It will be assumed that in manager-subordinate relationships the manager, A, is accountable to his own manager or higher authority not only for the quality of his own performance but also for the quality of performance of his subordinates. He must have the authority to have a team of subordinates who are at least not unacceptable to him from the work point of view.

A manager must be responsible for ensuring that his subordinates are trained, that he uses their capacities as fully as the work situation allows him to do, and that they are adequately informed of the background to the work he expects them to do. In order to discharge these responsibilities he must maintain an effective two-way relationship with his own immediate subordinates. In other words he must not only give them instructions, he must also consult them and give them the opportunity to express their point of view and suggestions about their work situation. This process of manager-subordinate consultation will be assumed in this paper to be taking place. It is not the same as participation in policy-making, and is not to be confused with it by calling it "participation in management". In consultation, the manager gets views and suggestions, but must himself decide how much he takes those views into account in making his decisions: for he is, himself, accountable for the decisions he makes and cannot fob this accountability off upon his subordinates.

In short, consultation is a process in which a manager hears views and himself decides how much to take those views into account; participation is a process in which elected representatives take part in establishing policies and objectives within which managers must work.

II. CONSULTATION AND PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

There are four major power groups which must be taken account of in educational institutions. These four groups are:

a) the democratic community which elects the government which establishes and controls the school system;
b) the parental consumer group which relates to the individual school in three ways:
    i) all the families of a particular school - the school parents' association;
    ii) the families of pupils in a particular class - parents and class;
    iii) the family of a particular pupil;
c) the associations formed by employed teaching staff:
    i) a national or local teachers' association;
    ii) the association of teachers in a particular school;
d) the associations formed by students or pupils.

The setting of overall policies by the electorate is a true participatory process. The representatives of the electorate establish policies through the government which they elect. These policies are subject to the play of the political system.

Parental consumer groups, however, are likely to be consultation groups. They cannot readily be given a participatory role in policy making since they are already engaged in that process as part of the electorate which in the final analysis determines the overall policies for the school system. The head of a school should consult with his parents' association, but he cannot ordinarily be required to take their advice, since he is accountable to the school governing body and not to them. For parents connected with a particular school to take part in a participatory body would require the development of special patterns of organisation.

In the same way, a class teacher can consult and seek the advice of the parents of his pupils, and can discuss problems with individual parents. But this process is consultation and not participation. The teacher is accountable to the headmaster for the decisions he takes, not to the parents.

When it comes to intra-school policies, however, the situation changes if the school has more than one level of management. The headmaster must consult with his subordinate department heads. But what about his relation to all the employed teachers as a single body? To introduce changes unacceptable to those teachers would be a foolhardy step. An explicit institution is needed to provide for participation by teachers as employees in setting the objectives and limits for the school in which they are employed. Such objectives and limits would of course have to be within the public policy set by the governing body for the school system and accountable to the electorate.

Teacher participation can be arranged by elected representatives of all teachers meeting with the head of the school. Such a body represents a complex association with at least two power groups - the headmaster and the teachers' elected representatives. In addition the teachers may be divided into separate power groups such as, for example, the department heads and the teaching staff. All decisions made by such a council must be within government policy and should be by unanimous vote; that is, no changes would be able to be forced (within government policy) which were unacceptable to either the headmaster or elected representatives. By this means each school could run with teacher consensus.

Such representation of employees in participation in setting the objectives and limits within which their institution is managed is requisite for all bureaucratic hierarchies. Such representation is independent of the educational level of employees. What is required in a representative are skills in understanding the needs of the colleagues who elect him, and skill in negotiation. It is not necessary to be capable of managing an organisation in order to participate in setting acceptable limits within which it is to be managed.

The representation of teachers via teachers' associations with respect to the policies of the school system as a whole, however, is another matter. It is important that those concerned with the government of school systems should consult with and seek the advice of such associations; the governing groups are, however, accountable to the electorate and cannot transfer that electoral accountability to any sub-group in the population. This statement does not, of course, apply to negotiations about payment and conditions.

The role of pupils in determining policy will vary in accord with the degree of responsibility carried by pupils for their own education. If parents and teachers are to be held responsible for the education of children, then the pupil may be consulted but cannot participate in setting objectives. However, to the extent that the pupil or student is given the opportunity to assume responsibility for his own learning, then he must also be given the opportunity to be a participant in policy setting. Let me illustrate.

Many British universities are considered to be communities of scholars which students are enabled to attend as members of that community and where they are responsible for their own learning. The organisational reflection of that policy is to establish the university association as comprising four groups: trustees to represent the public; the full-time teaching staff; the graduates of the university; and the undergraduate body. The requisite organisation of such a university would allow for full-scale participation of each of these four power groups through elected representation on its governing body, in which all would participate in a unanimous voting procedure for introducing change.

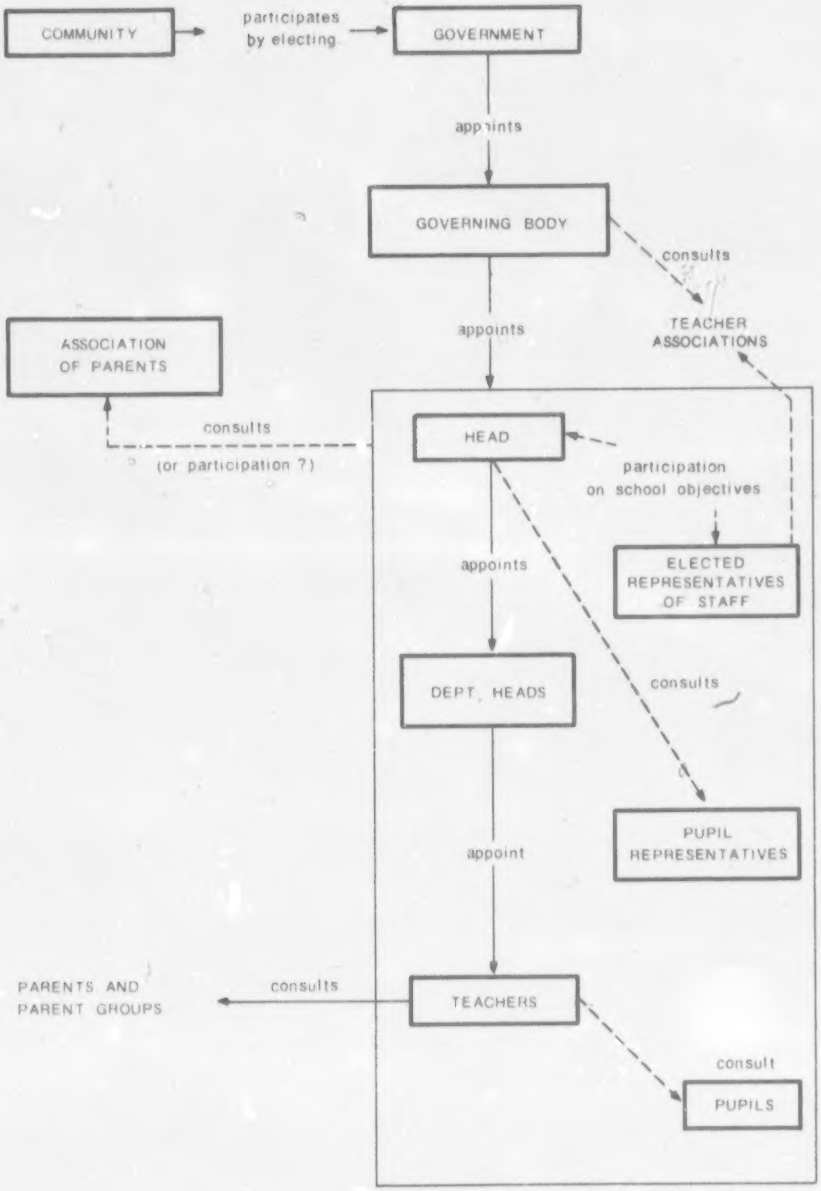
By the same token, the teaching staff in such universities must be recognized as not being organised in managerial hierarchies. So-called heads of departments may have to monitor to ensure that broad terms of contract are adhered to - but they are the colleagues, and not the managers, of the other teachers. That is why in many universities the headship of departments can rotate and the head need not be a full professor. Thus is academic freedom preserved.

In the school system, however, pupils by and large are not thought to be members of the association. The curriculum policy is set by political authority, and it is the responsibility of the school system to discharge that policy. Teachers are not free to determine the content of their teaching, and pupils are not deemed to be responsible for their own learning and for whether or not they stay in school. Under such conditions pupils may be consulted, but do not necessarily become participant members of the association.

It may, however, be considered that it would be desirable for pupils to be given the fullest possible opportunity to take responsibility for their own learning. That process can start in primary school with project teaching methods, and can be increased until senior pupils at near university level take on full responsibility. The principle would be to encourage pupils to take over responsibility to the maximum extent allowed by their stage of development. Such a principle would require appropriate teaching methods which, if successful, would allow education to make its contribution to the growth of independent citizens.

For such an educational outlook to become real there must also be opportunity for the pupils both to participate through elected representatives in policy formulation in the school and to be consulted by teachers on class and personal teaching programmes. In the case of the community school, parents' representatives would also be involved.

The following diagram summarizes the various levels of consultation and participation in a school system:


COMMUNITY
participates by electing
GOVERNMENT
appoints
GOVERNING BODY
consults
TEACHER ASSOCIATIONS
appoints
ASSOCIATION OF PARENTS
consults
(or participation ?)
HEAD
participation on school objectives
ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF STAFF
appoints
consults
DEPT. HEADS
appoint
PUPIL REPRESENTATIVES
PARENTS AND PARENT GROUPS
consults
TEACHERS
consult
PUPILS

XVIII

EDUCATIONAL PLANNING PERSPECTIVES: SOME DEFINITIONS APPROPRIATE TO THE PARTICIPATIVE ELEMENTS OF EDUCATIONAL GOVERNMENT

by

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I. A SECOND CIRCUIT OF DEMOCRACY

This paper has the limited purpose of attempting to define some of the organisational entities which are relevant to a discussion of participation in educational decision-making. It thus takes for granted many of the important and valuable perspectives which are formally discussed by William A. Westley and Beresford Hayward. (1) Many of the points made in this paper can be found in a recent compilation of papers given at a conference held in 1971 by the National Children's Bureau. (2)

The present surge of thinking (and, more appropriately, feeling) about the need for participation in public decision-making assumes the need to reconcile propositions which may well be difficult to make congruent. Some of the propositions assumed here are as follows:

i) that public educational systems should be accountable to those appointed, by electoral process, to run them. This is the "first circuit" of democracy and, poorly though it may work, we know of no better;

ii) that public education systems will inevitably, and rightly, put a high premium on such public administrative norms as efficiency, economy, equity, predictability in decision-making and so on. These are civic virtues, even if they do not make for dynamism;

iii) but that the electoral mechanisms (the "first circuit") and the official structures that support them are known to be insufficient as conveyors of client needs, demands, deprivations and that a second circuit of democracy is needed;

iv) that, not only is a second circuit needed for reasons of political democracy, but it is also particularly apposite to the educational process which, at best, depends on pupil and student interest in the educational process and the teachers' freedom to build on such interests.

Proposition (iii) is supported by such British studies as the Maud Committee Report on the Management of Local Government(3) which showed that councillors are not very representative and not good transmission belts for public opinion. Local government councillors spend, on the average, about 52 hours a month on public activities but only one-seventh of this time with their electors; and about half of them spend less than five hours a month on electors' problems. Most feel that the majority of electors are not interested in councillors' work.

So a second circuit of democracy is becoming improvised. But the inevitable and appropriate weight of argument and protest in favour of it should be made more effective by adequate definition of what is

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1. Cf. Study No. XIX and Part One of this volume.

2. Maurice Kogan and Margaret Pope, "The Challenge of Change", Papers given at a Conference of the National Children's Bureau, November 1971.

3. Committee on the Management of Local Government, 1967, Management of Local Government, Vol. II.

involved. Statements such as "planning is a process of participation" simply muddle the issues. It lets planners who do not want to be part of a participative process off the hook because it says everything and nothing. So this paper, first, suggests some important differentiations to be observed and, secondly, refers to some of the first examples of participatory engineering that can be discerned within the British social services network.

II. DIFFERENTIATIONS

It is important to differentiate between the following:

i) the systems of management and control whose authority derives from public elections. This is, in principle, a major input of participation inasmuch as the electorate can punish those whom it elects if they do not meet the needs of the people. And it goes along with the assumption that those dissatisfied with what management and government provide may offer themselves as an alternative government. This process should not be underestimated although it is not fully adequate for present purposes;

ii) associated with the governing and managing systems, legitimated systems of review and criticism. They include inspectorates by which, for example, central or local government can inspect the performance of its subordinate institutions, and research and evaluation mechanisms provided by the management itself by which client needs and demands can be analysed and more effectively represented to decision-makers;

iii) organs of criticism and review which are overtly external to the management system. The most important of these are auditors (concerned with financial probity) and ombudsmen (concerned with equity in administrative decision-making). In principle, these are external to government, can receive complaints about it and can, by publication and criticism, affect organisational behaviour;

iv) proposals, as in the Skeffington Report on Planning in Britain,(1) for public forums and surveys of facts and opinions which can enable consumers and electors to represent their views on definite proposals;

v) provision made within the bureaucracy for the development of individual professional roles which better enable objectives to be refreshed;

vi) consumer councils. These would be legitimated bodies able to investigate and publish the results of their investigations, the work of public bodies, without attempting to manage or control them. Recent examples of such bodies are to be found in the community health councils about to be created by the British Secretary of State for Health.(2)

vii) control by consumers of organisations. Such bodies as governing and managing bodies of schools in Britain purport to

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1. Report of the Committee on Public Participation in Planning, People and Planning, HMSO, London, 1969.

2. National Health Service Reorganisation: England, HMSO, London, Cmnd. 5055, Section XIII, 1972.

"manage" the institution on behalf of the wider public. In practice, they neither represent consumers well nor manage effectively;

viii) participation by clients (parents) in the institutions. Such ill-defined concepts as "the community school" presumably would rely on parental involvement in the work of the classroom so as to enhance the educational process.

Those categories of control and participation all have different parts to play in opening up, debureaucratizing, and making more participative the educational institutions. But they can do so only if differentiations are observed, at least to the point of noticing role ambiguities where they cannot be avoided. For example, the governing or managing body of a British school, or the hospital management committee of a British hospital, notoriously attempts two things at once. First, it attempts to manage the professionals who run the institutions, and fails in the attempt. Secondly, it attempts to represent client opinion to management, and also fails because it is impossible both to criticize and to manage an institution. It is not possible to assume perfect identity of interest between clients and those who manage client-oriented institutions. Similarly, it is optimistic to assume that public officials, whether elected or paid full-time officials, will not be the prime decision-makers in the educational system. They are the full-timers with access to data and with training to ensure that public systems work with reasonable efficiency and economy and do not swing and sway according to the whims of fashion or the pressure of articulate and possibly sectional pressure groups. It is important to make public officials stronger rather than weaker so that they will be better able to face up confidently to review, criticism and client and consumer demands and to reach accommodations with them. A system such as the British school system (with 30,000 schools) or even one of the smaller local education authorities (with, perhaps, 200 institutions) cannot be governed by general assembly.

With that somewhat bleak warning in mind, let us look in more detail at some of the devices that are beginning to become apparent in Britain.

III. WIDENING THE PERSPECTIVES OF MANAGEMENT

How can the management of education be more sensitive to public opinion and client demand? First, it is possible to use research and evaluation techniques to discover what people want. A recent case history, as reported by Higgins and Richardson, (1) concerns the attempt by commercial operators to close a cinema in Newcastle-under-Lyme. The councillors were frightened to take over on public finance, but had a survey of public opinion made which confirmed and legitimated their intention to do so. The principles of this case are important. A public bureaucracy can not only find out what people want but also legitimate their own more progressive intentions if they engage in systematic review of public needs. This information can then be fed into the first circuit of democracy - the councillors and so on - and also be used as part of the research and evaluation data upon which decisions are made.

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1. G.M. Higgins and J.J. Richardson, "Local Government and Public Participation: A Case Study" in Local Government Studies, October 1971.

D. V. Donnison (1) has proposed that such surveys should become statutory and should be undertaken every year by public authorities so that they can be more systematically sensitive to needs and wants.

The second device proposed by the Skeffington Report of a public forum has been attacked, rightly, as likely to become simply a middle-class talking shop. But some planning authorities, notably Islington in Inner London, have successfully mounted exhibitions showing their intentions about the reformulation of town planning, and have acted on many of the suggestions and criticisms that have arisen from these events. Similar moves by local education authorities to explain their proposals for transfer to secondary education have also emerged far more strongly in the last few years. It could well be that such devices should also become statutory, that is, that governing bodies generally should be required to give public notice of their intentions and hold public meetings at which they can be questioned.

Another way into sensitivity towards needs and wants is more infrastructural than the first two devices mentioned. British primary schools have become world famous for the way in which teachers have been allowed to develop their own concepts of process and practice. This implies that schools are legitimated to undertake development. Development is here defined as the activity by which processes are scrutinized to ensure that they are consistent with the changing needs of those being served, with a view to specifying changes in processes and overall objectives. If development is assumed to be possible within each teacher's role, and in the role of each institution, there will be a far more pluralistic form of government in education although this pluralism can be consistent with overt management of the total educational service by, say, an education committee and a chief education officer. In the best of the British local authorities, this balance between work undertaken by the prime institution (the school) and management control exercised by a local authority has been an outstanding feature.

IV. REVIEW AND CRITICISM

If the main accountability system can be opened up as herein described, there are further devices which enable it to be subject to public review. There are organs of review and criticism which make it possible for the ordinary citizen or client to instigate review and, where necessary, attack. Again, differentiations are needed. Inspectors and advisors have infrastructural roles; they are employed by management to undertake two different sets of functions:

i) inspectors make an assessment of performance for the use of management who may act on the assessment;
ii) educational advisers give a service to other professionals in the schools.

There are confusions made between these two functions which, again, need to be avoided.

Two other forms of review and criticism are, perhaps, more important to our present purpose since they bring us outside the management structure. They are those of the ombudsman and of the consumer council.

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1. D.V. Donnison, "Government and Governed" in New Society, 5 March 1970, London, pp. 389-391.

The ombudsman is, in effect, an "equity auditor". He is concerned to ensure that public decision-makers make their decisions within reasonable limits of equity and efficiency. It is not his business to scrutinize the policy as such but to make sure that policies are carried out with reasonable regard to the interests of the people being affected. In Britain, the ombudsman has, since 1965, been incorporated in the role of the Parliamentary Commissioner who is external to government ministries and serves parliament directly. There is now provision for a Health Commissioner and it is likely that there will soon be a local government commissioner who will be able to review local government services in much the same way. Access to these commissioners is likely to be too restricted for them to be an effective channel of popular grievance, but they provide an important extension of principle, and an important point of last resort for those who are dissatisfied with the way in which an educational service is being run.

Consumer councils are far more proximate to participatory needs. It is possible to envisage a community education council which is not part of the first circuit of democracy but which is chosen by direct election of people immediately concerned with the working of a school to review the work of the school, make suggestions about it and, where necessary, publish the results of their review. It would not control the school which is the business of the elected education committee and of its paid professionals. Any attempt to confuse control and consumer criticism would be to dilute both. The principle has been established for the health field but is being confused in Britain by attempts, for example, to put parents of pupils, as well as teachers, on the governing bodies of schools. This example, derived mainly from London, is likely to cause the critics of educational systems to become socialized by being named as managers of the system.

Extensions of the consumer council can be found in attempts to create "consumer shops". Examples of such can be found in the Coventry Community Development Project, where an information and opinion centre is run by local residents and offers information about welfare and legal rights and receives complaints and ideas. Syson and Brooke (1) have argued that a consumer shop could provide such a service as well as a focus for local groups. Complaints against any part of the social services could be channelled through one agency.

V. THE MORE POSITIVE APPROACHES TO PARTICIPATION

So far, this paper has been concerned with defining different ways by which public educational systems can be open to survey, criticism and review. It is also suggested that the development of the teachers' role within the prime institutions, the schools, might help to make the educational process more open and inventive. In essence, however, most of these differentiations are concerned with the control aspects of participation rather than with the involvement aspects. For involvement to take place the following changes have been suggested:

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1. L. Syson and R. Brooke, "The Voice of the Consumer" in G. Radice and B. Lapping, More Power to the People, Longmans, London, 1968, pp.57-76.

i) that the schools should welcome, rather than implicitly oppose, the introduction of parents into the classrooms as helpers of the teachers. Teachers have been sensitive about this possibility because it breaks into their authority relationship with pupils. Indeed, while it is essential to advance this type of change - because parents will then better appreciate what the school is doing, and be able to affect the behaviour of the school as well as their own behaviour towards children - there are difficult questions which arise about the teachers' freedom to be inventive. What happens when teachers who are trying to make their pupils inventive find that parents are in the classroom urging their children to be "well behaved"?

ii) strong parent associations. These may not only help enhance the resources of the school (through providing voluntary labour, for example) but also give essential feedback to the school of the gaps in perception between parents and the school. For example, in a recently created parents' association in Islington, it soon became plain that there were three sets of opinions about the "open school" issue. A group of middle-class parents thought the school reasonably progressive but not progressive enough. The teachers thought the school about right. A third group, mainly working-class parents, wanted a far more authoritarian attitude towards the inculcation of basic skills. The parents' association is now actively concerned with establishing ways of discussing these issues so that inter-parental education, and the flow of ideas between teachers and parents on these issues, can become strengthened. The parents' association also wants to help provide important continuities between school and out-of-school activities in an area where social facilities for the young are poorly provided;

iii) The example in (ii) extends into the fuller concept of the "community school" which is badly defined but which seems to mean a school which is open throughout pupils' waking hours and which is also available for more general activities so that the gap between school and parents, and school and the community generally, can be closed.

Finally, there is the place of students and pupils in the educational process. Here, again, there are conflicting propositions that need to be sorted out:

i) One set of arguments maintains that the school exists to transmit perceived and refined knowledges and skills which cannot be developed simply by process of pupil or student discovery. If this argument is supportable, it follows that there is a true differentiation between the roles of teacher and pupil and that student participation does not mean an equal share in governance but rather the role of the consumer able to express his views through a form of consumer council;

ii) The opposite view argues, and recent writings in the sociology of knowledge have reinforced this type of argument, that knowledge itself is generated for wider social ends and from particularistic social standpoints so that pupils' perceptions have equal validity with those of their teachers who are, in effect, service-givers. It therefore follows that governance of educational institutions should be at least equally divided between pupils and teachers, if not divided on a straight numerical basis. This set of assumptions about participation leads the student from being a consumer able to represent what he wants to being, in effect, the controller of educational process;

iii) It is feasible within either (i) or (ii) to argue for a more participatory educational process, irrespective of the way in which the institution is governed. For example, a "good" British primary school makes no bones about assuming an authority relationship between teacher and pupil. The teacher is in loco parentis. But this does not stop him from depending on pupils' interests and on informal relationships in drawing out pupils' interests upon which the processes of learning and discovery and acquisition of skills are based. This is, however, participation in a more narrow and technical sense than those discussed in sub-paragraphs (i) and (ii) above.

* * *

This paper has attempted to define different and often conflicting categories of organisation and governance. It might be possible for models of participation in educational planning and government to be drawn up by seeing how some of the different categories might be made to work together, or if they cannot work together, how they might be overtly placed in tension with each other so as to ensure that ambiguity is legitimated and made to work.

XIX

SOCIOLOGY OF PARTICIPATORY PLANNING

by
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I. THE DEMAND FOR PARTICIPATION

The demand for participatory planning in education is a response to rapid technological change and to the needs of an increasingly educated, technically competent, and affluent people to participate in decisions concerning their own interests. The demands reflect the need for new forms of organisation which can involve and satisfy modern man, and the decreasing effectiveness of the traditional, centralized, rationalized and bureaucratic forms. They arise as part of a shift in values from those grounded in scarcity towards those oriented to human development and satisfaction. (1)

Most modern educational systems tend to be centralized and bureaucratized. Educators have raised the standards of their systems through careful planning, organisation, and professionalization. They have fought to be free from political and parental interference. In very recent years, these developments have peaked in the use of professional, educational planning bureaus.

Today these organisations look somewhat dysfunctional. There are signs of unrest by students, parents and teachers. Conflicts are breaking out within the system. The need for change and innovation is recognized. This is the context within which the suggestion for participatory planning has arisen and in terms of which we must evaluate the effect of such participation.

In modern industrial countries there now exists a modest body of experience, particularly in industry, which can profitably be applied to the development of participatory planning in education. This experience, analysed from a sociological perspective, provides information about the appropriate kinds of participation under various conditions as well as its advantages and pitfalls.

II. THE DIMENSIONS OF ORGANISATIONAL FUNCTIONING

Our initial analysis involves asking how participation affects three important dimensions of organisational functioning: decision-making which we call the executive system, the allocation and maintenance of prestige which we call the status system, and the struggles for the accommodations to power, which are the political system.

The executive system represents the totality of all decisions made within an organisation and its description involves the identification of what decisions are made, who makes them, who reviews them and how much time elapses between a decision and its review. (2) All members of an organisation make some decisions, but the greater the time elapses

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1. See William A. and Margaret W. Westley, The Emerging Worker: Equality and Conflict in the Mass Consumption Society, McGill-Queens University Press, Montreal, 1971.
2. Brown, Wilfred, Explorations in Management, Penguin, 1965.

between a decision and its review, the greater is the responsibility. The introduction of participatory management involves increasing the number and the amount of responsibility of decisions made by many people in the organisation.

In industrial organisations careful planning and rationalization has resulted in fragmentation of work and the centralization of decision-making. This has decreased the worker's control over his work and increased his feeling of alienation. There is evidence to show that workers try to reestablish some control over their work by restricting the rate of production, using work time for their personal ends, and finding ways to "beat the system" by hiding efficient ways of working and then using the time saved to loaf. These forms of resistance are familiar to all students of work life. They result from the decreased control which reduces the worker's sense of potency and value.

Equally important are the findings from studies where the worker's control over his job has been increased. Such increased control ranges from relatively minor advances, such as job enrichment and worker consultation, through worker control over the shop floor and plant, to worker self-management for an entire company. While careful studies are available only for the more modest forms of increase, they consistently show definite increases in worker morale and almost always increases in productivity.

There are no comparable data from studies of schools, but case studies and observations strongly suggest that in educational systems comparable reactions occur. Thus in traditional and highly centralized school systems, teachers have experienced a decrease in control similar to that experienced by industrial workers. They have no authority to adjust the pacing, curriculum, and texts to the differences in students. These decisions, which can be vital to successful teaching, are often made at higher administrative levels. They, too, become disillusioned by their work, with a resulting loss of effectiveness, and have begun to bargain collectively for a strict limitation on their responsibilities and commitment to the school.

Students have never had much voice in running the school. They do, however, have a great deal to do both within the school and at home, but little discretion about what they are to do or how they are to do it. Yet, they do, of course, exercise informal decision-making power, choosing to give or withdraw their attention or energies by obeying or evading the rules, a decision of vital interest to the school since the education of the student is an important goal of the system.

Various studies of the experience of working-class boys in school show that not only do they find it irrelevant to their expected careers, and thus withdraw their attention into what Paul Goodman called "reactive stupidity", but they even engage in self-destructive behaviour such as truancy, misbehaviour in class, etc. because, in so doing, they gain some control over their fates (even though the result is for them calamitous).

The school does not formally recognize the executive role of the students; thus, it cannot hold them responsible for the decisions they make. Yet these are decisions of vital relevance for the goals of the school.

Schools share the general Western tradition of dividing the members of organisations into active (managerial) and reactive (worker) roles. But, while this rationale may have been necessary to the factory, and appropriate to the school when it simply conditioned students for factory life, it is no longer relevant or necessary. We already have evidence that, with appropriate modifications for age, students can effectively participate in decision-making in the academic and non-academic spheres of school life. A primary school in Stockholm provided formal decision-making rights about playground rules, and about how to study particular subjects, to students from the first grade up, and these students demonstrate what can only be called amazing maturity in these spheres.

More widely known is the informal classroom where the students decide what they will do and when and how they will do it. The teacher then uses the student's activity and interest to educate him.

The student will, of course, choose to learn what is relevant to him and in ways which he finds interesting. Sylvia Ashton Warner's experience in teaching Maori children to read, and Paulo Freire's work with the Brazilian peasants both demonstrate how relevance functions to increase learning. When students, be they children or adults, are given formal decision-making power, they may, through their choice of relevant subjects and pathways to learning, educate the system to greater efficiency in reaching its goals of education. Working-class boys might, for example, choose to spend much of their time studying automobile mechanics indicating that it was through this medium that they wanted to learn mathematics, law, physics, chemistry, etc.

In conclusion, students, like workers, always make many decisions relevant to the goals of the organisation, but when this decision-making power is not formally recognized, they cannot be held accountable and they will seek ways to assure themselves of self-control by breaking the rules or deliberately restricting intellectual or manual production. Students can be just as rebellious and delinquent as workers. Students can be just as sarcastic about the "brain" as the workers about the rate buster.

The inclusion of teachers and students in the formal executive system of the school, with recognition given to the importance of decisions they make and their competence to make them, and with the requisite authority granted, should make them responsible and accountable to the school. It should also increase the capacity of the school to educate its students.

The analysis of the executive system of the school can reveal just what decisions are made and/or can be made by the diverse groups. Superficially it would seem that the teachers and students are the most under-utilized groups, but that all groups, except for the principals, the staff experts, and the central administration, have been effectively excluded from the executive system.

The status system for an organisation is described on the basis of what people do, their self-perceptions and what other people think of them in terms of prestige and position in the hierarchy of honour. The status system is relatively stable when there is wide agreement as to the statuses attributed to various people and groups, but wide differences in formal statuses give rise to informal and often contradictory status systems which breed confusion and dysfunction.

People working in an organisation have vested interest in the prestige they get from their jobs. They often identify themselves by the job they do and the organisation they work for, saying: I am a teacher in the high school, a foreman in Alcan, a lorry driver for London Transport, etc. The prestige of these jobs is important to them and obviously the greater the prestige, the greater the importance. Yet, even where the job is a modest one, the person may feel that its value is important to his identity, arguing that many others do, and are worth, less.

The recognition of the importance of this status system is crucial to the introduction of change. Unless people are assured that they will improve or at least maintain their status, they are almost certain to resist the change. Giving an increased voice to those lower in the system will reduce the status difference between themselves and those in higher positions, who will experience a relative decrease in status.

Experienced administrators know that people are jealous of their relative positions in the organisation and that if these relative positions (say, with respect to salary) are changed, they can expect objections. Skilled workers who may be satisfied with a modest increase in salary will become extremely dissatisfied if they find that unskilled workers have received an increase in salary which substantially reduces the difference between the skilled and unskilled.

From the perspective of the status system, a change in the organisation, particularly an increased participation of those with lower status, will probably threaten those with higher status and lead them to oppose the changes. Care must be taken to compensate for this loss of status through the provision of alternative sources of prestige and training programmes which help people understand the new forms of organisation and elicit their support.

The increased participation of students and teachers in decision-making would increase their social status and might threaten the school principal and higher administrators. However, it may also have some reverse effects. In one factory studied by the author, the most important effect of giving the workers greater self-determination was that managers came to respect them more. They saw the workers more like themselves, they listened to them more, and they found they had many good ideas. The workers, basking in these new powers and this new respect, came to respect themselves. Thus, in the school it is possible that, once teachers and students were given more voice, the "authorities" would give them more respect and they, discovering their new abilities and finding this new respect, would come to respect themselves more.

In addition, the provision of formal sources of status and ways to gain status might persuade them to abandon many of the old informal ways. Teachers who earn respect because of their teaching abilities in open and shared classroom settings, and through their contribution to curriculum design, the selection of textbooks and the management of the school, would no longer need to dominate students. Indeed they would probably find such domination dysfunctional. Students who gained respect among their peers through their skill in classroom and school management and in the free exercise of academic skill might find it against their interests to disrupt, to disobey, to react stupidly.

Yugoslav schools have given both teachers and students a significant voice in the management of the school, for both elect members to the council which runs the school (hiring and dismissing the director). Teachers within each discipline hire their own members, select their own textbooks, and advise on curriculum. Students in each class have their own independent council which can, and at times does, ask the teacher to appear before it to hear complaints or provide explanations. In one such school visited by the author, the teachers maintained that they were very happy in their role which they saw as that of the friend of the students. Indeed, it seemed that most of the teachers were for most of their students a confidant and counsellor.

Thus, participative management in the school could radically alter its status system. But during the period of transition, many people would lose status. Teachers usually oppose suggestions that their teaching be observed. Higher administrators might see in the gains by students and teachers a loss to themselves and would fight it.

People almost never realize that control within organisations is not a zero sum game in which control is a fixed limited resource and one man's gain is another's loss. As Arnold Tannenbaum has repeatedly demonstrated through studies of labour unions and factories, control is a relatively expansive phenomenon in which gains by one party actually result in gains by the others. The key is the difference between people's control over one another's behaviour and their control over the results of their common activity or the degree to which they achieve their common goals. Where the reference is to control over common achievements, whether it be in producing a product or in educating a person, it should be clear that the amount of control over the process will be increased by using the judgement of all competent and relevant people, even if a particular administrator has less control over what teachers and students do.

Thus, if workers or students are given a voice in guiding the common process, it should increase the total amount of control (say, over the quality of the product) without in any way diminishing the amount of control exerted by those who previously made the decisions alone.

While it seems reasonable that those at the bottom would welcome such changes, in fact they, along with others, may resist it wholeheartedly. They often feel uncertain about what will happen and want to hang on to what they have, and they may also resist changing a system in which, as presently constituted, they feel they have a future. This means that unless great care is taken to make people understand what will happen, to protect temporarily their vested interests by assuring them that they will not lose their jobs or privileges because of the change, and by providing alternative roles for those whose positions may disappear, everyone may resist this innovation, even those who have the most to gain by it.

One can, of course, simply ride roughshod over these fears and objections and install the new system by revolution or by managerial fiat. In both cases the process will be expensive and the results uncertain. In planned change, however, it will be necessary to understand and respond to the status system. This is true for even relatively minor sorts of increased participation, such as job enlargement and worker consultation.

Industrial firms which have been most successful in introducing this kind of change (like Alcan in Canada, and Imperial Chemical Industries in England), have preceded the change by long and detailed training programmes for middle and lower management, careful consultations with the unions, and guarantees of no layoff as a result of the change. The firms have been successful to the extent that they convinced the managers and foremen that the increased participation of the workers in management would increase the effectiveness of the foremen and managers, that they offered them better paid and more interesting jobs, and that they guaranteed their vested interests in the old system.

By paying attention to the status system we become sensitive to the interests of the members, to the ways they will be threatened by particular changes, and the areas in which they will need support.

The political system is formed when, within organisations and societies, people form interest groups based on what they consider common fates. These groups are engaged in a struggle for power and privilege. Together, these groups and the process of conflict and accommodation which they set into motion constitute the political system. Durable social systems must find ways of controlling or resolving these inter-group and inter-personal conflicts.

Recognition of the political system provides the educational planner with a classification of the power groups and a knowledge of the power structure within an organisation. These groups should be represented in the participatory planning process, for they do possess real power and their co-operation is necessary to the success of any plan and of participation itself. Many educators have been frustrated by finding that their designs for educational reform were ignored or dissolved by the teachers who did not believe in them. This indicates that the teachers have real power even though they are not recognized in the formal power structure and given a voice commensurate with their power. Presumably the design of a participatory structure would remedy this.

III. THE INTRODUCTION OF PARTICIPATORY GOVERNMENT OR PLANNING

Participatory planning will have its costs as well as its benefits and if experience from industry is any indication, some participatory schemes will fail. This experience suggests that the chance of success rises when the degree of participation, that is, the scope and kinds of decisions in which the person participates, is appropriate to the worker's needs and to the technology of the system in which he is involved.

In industry, when workers' orientations were classified according to A. H. Maslow's hierarchy of needs, it ~~was found~~ that the lower the level of need at which the worker operated, the less he was interested in participation and the more appropriate a limited participation scheme was likely to be. (1) Uneducated, unskilled, and semi-skilled workers tended to operate at the level of simple economic and security needs and tended to prefer very limited participation schemes such as the Scanlon plan. Workers with more education and greater skill, especially those with secondary school or technical education holding technicians jobs, wanted and had the capacity to participate successfully in plans in which they ran the shop or plant. We found no cases where workers, no matter what their educational and skill levels, directly managed the higher echelons of complex industries, although the Yugoslavs have demonstrated that even blue-collar workers can assume functions equivalent to the board of directors in reviewing work and plans and in hiring and firing top managers.

Technology also plays an important role, for it seems clear that there are certain kinds of technologies such as those found in the electronics industry and in research laboratories where free democratic participation seems essential to adequate flexibility and innovation, while there are other technologies such as those with long production runs and stable products and markets which seem resistant to increased participation by workers.

Both ideas can be transferred to education. The need and competence level of the student will be related to his age and grade so that young primary school students might participate only in those affairs in which they are directly related such as classroom and playground rules, and the choice of ways in which to learn the subject matter. However, as these children mature socially and intellectually, and become skilled in participation, they should want and be able to participate in the management of the school, and, later still, in the total educational system. If we follow the parallel of industry it would suggest that participation could expand to the point where the administrative tasks become so complex that they required specialist training and that at that point students could participate in governing bodies (in contrast to management bodies) equivalent to boards of directors in corporations.

More important, participation itself may be necessary to the development and education of the student. It may be essential to his psycho-

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1. See William A. Westley, "An Evaluative Model for Worker Participation in Management", in Participation and Self Management, Zagreb, Institute for Social Research, University of Zagreb, 1972, pp. 199-211.

logical growth and maturity, while giving him socio-political skills and critical abilities badly needed in modern, complex, rapidly changing, democratic societies.

The technology of education would seem to demand high levels of participation for it requires both the highest degree of co-operation from the student who must be educated and the flexibility to adapt quickly to differences in students and changes in knowledge. This may be particularly true of the university where the form of participation, known as the task force, would permit new integrations of knowledge and the concentration on social problems.

Teachers should, of course, participate to the limit of their professional ability and be given the freedom to work out programmes of study with their classes, to advise them on curriculum, to select text books, and to have a strong voice in the government of the school, including the hiring and firing of the director.

Changes arising from the introduction of participation give rise to a number of problems:

a) They threaten the existing power and dominance of professional educators and higher administrators since they increase the relative influence of teachers and students.
b) They change and weaken the old bureaucratic structure and the order it had produced, giving rise to temporary confusion and disorder, and to a relatively permanent increase in the amount of time everyone has to devote to meetings.
c) By changing the existing ways in which conflict groups accommodate to each other, it may increase conflict ... Thus, traditionally, conflicts of interest between parents and teachers have been prevented by insulating the system from the influence of parents. Now if parents are given a strong voice, these underlying conflicts will come into the open.
d) Because people are generally jealous of differences in reward, democratization tends to level status and rewards within an organisation. For example, Yugoslav factories restrict the top salary to six times that at the bottom. Understandably when this demand for levelling appears, those who stand to lose will make strenuous objections. Similarly, those who previously have received little are bound to use their new bargaining power to obtain more.
e) They can lower efficiency in two ways: first through the development of administrative forms inappropriate to the technology, and second through the increased time necessary for decision-making. Neither objection should hold true for educational systems since participation would seem suited to the technology and the time used would be educational.

Many of these are already problems of existing educational systems which would be counterbalanced by the advantages of participation. Thus, in educational systems using participatory planning we would expect:

a) high morale of teachers and students, who would be able to adjust the system to their interests and find increased scope for their abilities. In industry even the simplest participation schemes like the Scanlon plan, and job enrichment and enlargement, all show increased morale by workers. In those schools where teachers and students do participate they tend to adjust the programme to their needs. In an experimental high school in Oslo, which is entirely run by students, students radically changed their pattern of study, concentrating completely on one subject at a time to the exclusion of everything else and alternating subjects with periods of inactivity. In Yugoslav schools teachers use their influence to adjust texts, study plans, and timetables to theirs and their students' needs. Furthermore, the flexibility arising from participation should permit teachers and students to select each other on the basis of compatibility.

b) increased respect by authorities for subordinates as participation demonstrates their competence, so that as teachers and students have more influence administrators will see how much more effectively they can reach educational goals with their assistance. The respect granted teachers and students will give them more self-respect and make them less defensive and more co-operative. It should mean that they will feel that it is really their school and that they have a stake in it.

c) greater flexibility and innovation. Particularly important are studies of the organic forms of organisation which are being instituted in some electronics and steel industries in which people with various skills are grouped into task forces of limited life expectancy. While serving on these task forces they function as equals (though they maintain their salaries and general ranks in the larger organisation). Flexibility arises from the capacity of this organisational form to regroup and change the composition of groups to meet changing informal needs and tasks. Applied to education, such an organisational form would look particularly promising in the university which has been the least responsive to the need for change, even in the light of rapid changes in technical and basic scientific knowledge in human systems of communication, in culture and in the social problems of modern society.

Even with these advantages participation in educational planning and management could conceivably fail. The degree to which it is successful will depend on the design of the participatory programme, the way in which it is introduced and the degree to which it is appropriate to the needs of the participants and the goals and technology of the particular school and system. Studies of worker participation in the management of factories show that the degree of participation by workers must be tailored to the level of needs at which the workers in question are operating, and the technology of the factory in which they work. (1) In the school, presumably the needs of students would vary with their age and programme, and the needs of teachers with the kind of level of school in which they were teaching. If the participatory planning programme includes other stakeholders in the educational system such as parents, taxpayers, industry, etc., the appropriate participation of each will have to be explored and experimented with.

A number of measures seem to be required for the establishment of a viable participatory scheme. These should be based on a socio-technical analysis of the organisation which will describe the executive, status and political systems so as to anticipate where major resistances are likely to develop and where to direct careful training programmes for key groups who will see their positions as threatened or changed. Such a programme should also include a recognition of the various types of plan-

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1. Westley, W.A., ibid.

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ning and decision-making activity involved at different levels of the system - the classroom, the school and the educational system as a whole - and of the different circumstances, age and other characteristics of the participants in education. On the basis of such data participation schemes can more appropriately reflect the goals of people and their particular circumstances. A participatory system in which the participants are for one or another reason not prepared or able to play their roles is likely to degenerate or never get started.

In industrial plants which successfully increased the participation of workers in the management of the job and the shop floor, it was customary to precede the change by a long period of training for foremen and middle managers (in schools these would be the staff, the officials, and the principals). The training would give them skills in new roles, and show them how these new roles represented a more effective way of doing their job. Ordinarily the foremen and middle managers received guarantees that they would not be laid off because of the new form of organisation. Where this was done properly, the programme was successfully implemented.

IV. THE ROLE OF THE PLANNER

Participatory planning will include all relevant groups, and will take place within the flow of action in the educational system. Compared with the present educational system this will mean a radical alteration in the role of the educational planner which should enable him to plan a more exciting and creative part. He will no longer be adviser to the king. Instead he will become the activator and resource man for the action people who are doing their own planning.

The new role of the educational planner might include:

a) providing the structure of communications, training, information, etc., necessary if the new groups are to be effective managers and planners;
b) actually guiding and facilitating the participatory process by helping to choose the groups to be included, and the topics they would be concerned with;
c) doing the basic socio-technical research on the educational system necessary to locating the most effective ways of increasing participation;
d) helping the participating groups to engage in a constant process of action research to guide their own decisions; and
e) providing expert advice on a variety of subjects.

Participatory management and planning in education will place the planner in the centre of action as a change catalyst and perhaps the midwife of a new educational order.

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THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT OF EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

by

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The object of this paper is to suggest a human input into the planning process which might raise the quality of educational planning beyond its present limits. If taken seriously, this would not only alter the very structure of planning but could also change the nature of its relationship with educational research and development.

I. THE NATURE OF THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT OF EDUCATION

The different social groups involved in the formal processes of education, their value structures and motivations, their relative social positions and inter-relationships, and their generalized perceptions of education and its social implications are factors of which all educational planners must take account, for the meaningfulness and effectiveness of educational policy and planning is determined by the reactions of such groups to the educational process. Knowledge of such groups is not, however, easily obtained for it requires far more than a statistical counting of heads. It demands an analysis and comprehension of the social environment of education and of the patterns of social interaction by which education is most profoundly affected.

In order to explain what is meant by "the social environment of education" and to discuss how best this may be explored, some preliminary and very general remarks on social structure and social research may be of help. When we talk of the "social environment" in which individuals exist, we refer to an extensive structure of values, generalized symbols and communication patterns in terms of which individuals "interact". This they are able to do because of a unique ability to breach their inner isolation and establish meaningful methods of communication with others, thus creating social relationships and transmitting information over time. Although communication takes the very recognizable forms of speech and writing, it is also developed by what is called the social process; the recognition of cultural symbols, behaviour patterns and roles and the treatment of these by the individual in such a way as to convey certain meanings to others are the essence of social activity.

Individuals are born into existing social structures and are therefore faced with the necessity of assimilating established customs and practices in order to develop their own social relationships. A pattern of interaction is imposed on them at birth and is conveyed to them by means of rewards for or sanctions against certain types of behaviour. This early experience, or "socialization", enables them to recognize behaviour patterns and roles within their immediate environment, to establish their own "reference groups" and to gain some generalized conception of the wider social world.

There is, however, a dualism in the social process which makes it particularly complicated to study. Although, in a first sense, it exists on a collective and historical scale, social activity does not exist independently of the individuals involved. Though the social structure surrounds the infant at birth as a fait accompli, from childhood on an individual develops his own subjective impressions of what his social environment is like and of what the behaviour of others signifies. In the younger child such impressions are likely to involve a simple internalization of what the adults close to him perceive; as he matures, however, an individual may cease to take his social world "for granted" and may construct and behave in terms of his own unique perceptions of the social milieu in which he finds himself, perceptions which may or may not coincide with those of others. In a second sense, therefore, an individual's social environment is his personal creation, developed from his own perceptions of other people.

Just as there is an interaction between the individual and his social environment in the creation of social activity, so is there an interaction between groups of individuals of similar outlook and other groups with contrasting life styles or differing codes of behaviour. Even in apparently homogeneous societies this will be found to be the case. Thus groups that exist, more or less willingly, within the same political domicile may be found to act on very different perceptions of the surrounding social world.

Those in search of knowledge of the social environment have consequently two contrasting but supplementary methods of social analysis at their disposal: they can attempt an overall analysis of the structure in which they themselves believe people exist or they can try to understand and explain the perceptions of structure on which the different behaviour patterns of individuals or different groups of individuals are based. The first of these approaches is normally typed as "objective" and "scientific", the second as "subjective", but the latter is in fact no more value-loaded than the former though it does involve different techniques. Ideally, a combination of both of these methodologies will provide the most comprehensive range of social knowledge available and the most viable approach to an analysis of the dynamics of social action.

Education, as one of many social activities, may similarly be analysed in two different ways. It may, first, be defined within structural boundaries and its relationships with other elements of social structure - the economy, religion, the mass media and so forth - examined. Within the same context, the various elements of the formal educational system may also be separated out for study; thus universities, colleges and different school levels, the teaching profession and administrative bodies may be individually examined, and their various activities and inter-relationships, as seen by the research worker, documented. Such exercises, particularly when given a historical dimension, have produced useful hypotheses about the relationship of education to social class, of pre-school education to later levels of educational achievement, etc. Within such a methodology the social environment of education consists clearly of all the structural elements, educational and societal, surrounding the particular institution of education under study.

This structural (or systemic) approach to the analysis of education is, however, inevitably limited. Though it can provide the researcher or planner with an apparently precise, overall view of what is happening in education, it has no means of finding out, for example:

i) whether those actually involved in education agree with the interpretation being placed on their educational situation;
ii) why certain groups, e. g. students "dropping out" of university, or pupils not proceeding beyond the level of compulsory education, are behaving in a particular fashion;

iii) what the reactions of different groups to certain varieties of educational change might be;
iv) what the educational horizons of different groups might contain, or what might be their potential demand for educational resources;
v) how educational experience affects social attitudes.

Since these are all issues on which educational planning is badly in need of information, it is curious that little progress has been made in the investigation of the social perceptions, educational motivations and differing attitudes of the groups actually involved in the educational process. Perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that, in education, planners have been largely preoccupied with the maintenance of social order rather than with the direction and stimulation of change. Where order is a central problem, whatever the issue, the structural or systemic perspective becomes the perspective for research. (1)

It is perfectly possible, however, to make a constructive attempt to understand the different value structures and perceptions of self and of others in terms of which all those affected by the educational process behave. This involves looking more closely at any a priori classification of groups involved in education and asking each group of participants, by a variety of largely indirect processes, the following types of questions: do you identify with all other persons placed in your group or are there some significant differences between yourself and those placed with you; how did you come to be involved in education in this way; what is your educational horizon, i. e. to what do you aspire and with what degree of confidence; what other groups would you consider as educationally important and how do you feel about them; particularly, how far can you identify with those operating the educational system; how effective are you likely to be if you try to bring about changes in education; what is your ideal of a good education, etc.

Such an approach is demanding on the researcher for it cannot be carried out by postal questionnaire. (Viz. a recent Japanese survey of 85,000 on opinions on education.) (2) It implies the researcher's leaving his ivory tower and involving himself in the field, becoming a participant observer and using all the techniques of research that this requires.

Such an approach, moreover, entails a much broader conception of the social environment of education. This must now be redefined to include the social attitudes, prejudices and values which people carry with them into the educational process itself and deploy in their fulfilment of existing educational roles or in their creation of new activities.

Two brief examples may help to clarify the preceding discussion, and to illustrate the limitations of a purely structural analysis of a situation:

i) In the 1960's, education was taken unawares by the storm of student protest that arose in Western universities. Traditional university establishments had been rapidly expanded in an effort to extend what was really an elitist form of education to a greater number of individuals and to provide more highly qualified workers to meet existing manpower shortages. In structural terms, i. e. in terms of demographic increase, economic demand and a prevailing ethic in favour of "equality of opportunity for competition for existing social roles",

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1. See A. Dawe, "The Two Sociologies", British Journal of Sociology, London, June 1970.
2. Reviews of National Policies for Education: Japan, OECD, Paris, 1971.

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the expansion had made some sense. If serious note had been taken, however, of the sorts of relationships existing within universities, and of the view taken of university graduates by other social groups, expansion would not have been undertaken with such optimism. It would have rapidly been realized, for example, that for many students the traditional university system had become effete; that obtaining a degree had become - if it had not always been - one among many goals to be pursued; that many students were being structurally pressured into a university education and would "drop out" as soon as they had the opportunity; that students had discovered their prime relationship in the university to be not an academic relationship between themselves and professors but a conflict relationship between themselves and the "university establishment"; that employers frequently viewed graduates with apprehension and drew a distinction between "intellectual" and "practical" abilities, and so on. In short, planning higher education would have been undertaken on a rather different basis.

ii) Recent studies have focused on the relationship existing between the "material environment" and education. Relative material deprivation, calculated in terms of housing, size of income, number of children per family, etc., has appeared as a major factor connected with poor educational performance. Relieving material deprivation has not, however, proved very successful in combatting so-called "educational failure". It has been realized that one cannot hope to raise the level of educational achievement amongst certain groups of children simply through the alleviation of poverty. Stephen Wiseman, in a conclusion to his survey of Manchester school children undertaken for the Plowden Committee, expresses this quite succinctly:

> "When we think of the problem of material and cultural deprivation, we see it as a problem affecting the 'submerged tenth', the slum-dwellers, the poverty stricken. We tend to assume that it affects only the tail-end of the ability-range as well as the tail-end of the income-range. Both of these views are wrong and the second is even more radically wrong than the first. Educational deprivation is not mainly the effect of poverty; parental attitude and maternal care are more important than the level of material needs." (1)

Much more, therefore, has to be discovered about the network of relationships existing between poverty, family interaction and patterns of child-rearing. The nature of family life as a whole, and its impact on education, has to come under study. In order to realize an objective such as equality of educational opportunity, educational planning has both to understand and to change a complex range of social attitudes and values.

Consequently, for those involved in educational planning, interpreting the social environment of education now requires the development of techniques whereby the dualism of this environment will be fully acknowledged.

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1. Children and Their Primary Schools (Plowden Report). London, HMSO, 1967, Appendix 9, p. 369.

In the first instance, it requires the development of an initial, overall set of hypotheses of what the educational process involves, including:

i) a definition of the main groups involved in the process and their classification in terms of criteria which seem to the planners to be most relevant. Thus, students, teachers and professors at various levels, governors, administrators and educational specialists may be classified according to criteria such as sex, age, class, income group, religion or race. The numbers of personnel and changes in their distribution may then be recorded to give an overall indication of movements within the system;(1)

ii) a correlation and analysis of the relationship existing between movements within the educational system and other parts of the social structure, e. g.

- of demographic change and movement in the population and the effect of this on the size and distribution of educational establishments;
- of the flow of different types of school and university graduates into different types of occupations;
- of the relationship between length and type of education and social mobility, and so forth.

In most OECD Member countries this type of information and the rudiments of such analysis are now available. As already argued, however, such data and hypotheses can provide only a partial approach to comprehensive social analysis. They can take no cognizance of the very different views of education and its social implications in terms of which groups other than planners may operate and in the context of which an explanation of educational phenomena must also be sought.

Having clarified how they themselves might define and explain observed educational trends and problem areas, planners must then explore and restructure in more generally meaningful terms their theories of how education operates and, therefore, of how it may best be managed or redirected. This requires an attempt to understand how people perceive the educational process, how they relate to it and what they are seeking from it. This would imply:

i) that the original classificatory scheme employed by planners should be rated against the classifications of individuals employed by participants in the educational process. Individuals might disagree on the class or status assigned to them; they might propose criteria that the planners have not considered, like sex or religion, as relevant to the way they themselves or others behave and to the sort of treatment received. As far as possible, allowance needs to be made for such self-ratings;(2)

ii) that planners would inevitably need to revise some of their original hypotheses about the structuring and inter-relationships of the educational system, with consequent implications for their policy planning;

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1. As outlined in Methods and Statistical Needs for Educational Planning, OECD, Paris, 1967.
2. For an example of the value of such an approach, see W. G. Runciman, Relative Deprivation and Social Justice, Institute of Community Studies, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1966.

iii) that by balancing a revised conception of educational structure against the perceptions of education held by other groups, planners would produce far more dynamic models of the educational process and of possible educational futures.

There are two strategies that planners might employ in order to acquire this sort of understanding. First, they could draw on research done by R and D institutes, independent researchers, etc. into the educational process, or sponsor research themselves. Secondly, they could personally become acquainted with representatives of the different groups whom their planning activities affect, that is, they themselves could become significant participants in the educational environment. The rest of this paper will therefore be devoted to some of the problems and implications that are latent in these two processes.

II. RESEARCH INTO THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT OF EDUCATION

Without wishing to launch into an exposition of the sociology of education, one can mention the following areas of research as already productive of the type of information for which planners might be looking:

i) family and social background and education;
ii) the socialization process and achievement;
iii) the social status of the teacher and the teaching profession;
iv) the school as a social system;
v) education and value transmission.

Many of the hypotheses developed about education in these areas of research are either insufficiently substantiated or of a very limited nature. All the same, a sample of the main statements supported by sociologists in these areas may indicate the direction in which research into the social environment is progressing and serve to suggest what type of information the sociology of education might have to contribute to educational planning in the coming decades. (1)

A. Family and Social Background and Education

For sociologists this has proved a research topic very difficult to manage because of the immense complexity of the home environment. Class, status and income levels, child-rearing practices, speech and thought patterns and value orientations, whilst all separate factors in the home environment, have been found to cluster together, although for no very tangible reasons. In addition, in trying to relate family background to educational achievement, the concepts of "achievement" and "under-achievement" have proved very difficult to define.

Research has, nevertheless, supported the following hypotheses:

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1. Although styled as "sociological", such hypotheses are in fact drawn from a wide range of historical, sociological, psychological and anthropological research. Most of these hypotheses may be found in O. Banks, The Sociology of Education, B.T. Batsford Ltd., London, 1969.

i) Poverty is an important correlate of under-achievement in education but is not the only factor, or even the major factor. (1)

ii) Economic barriers are not the main reason why high school graduates do not go on to college. (2)

iii) Social and cultural features distinguishing working-class children who go to university from other children in the same socio-occupational category seem to indicate that students of working-class origin come in fact from the top fraction of the underprivileged strata and that this class's educational opportunities will consequently tend to level off when this marginal category has been educated. (3)

iv) High school "drop-outs" do not leave school primarily for economic reasons. (4)

v) Poor housing conditions depress the level of educational achievement; middle-class children reduce this handicap as they get older, but working-class children fall even further behind. (5)

vi) "More of the variation in children's school achievement is specifically accounted for by the variation in parental attitudes ... " and the "relative importance of parental attitudes increases as the children grow older". (6)

Whilst none of these statements disputes the severe effect of material deprivation on children, they all demonstrate the importance of subjective, motivational factors in educational behaviour, factors which one would expect individuals to exhibit as a result of the value orientations of the groups with which they have been brought up or with which they identify. Of this there is further and more specific evidence.

vii) Working-class parents affect the educational motivation of their children by placing less emphasis than middle-class parents on formal education. (7)

viii) A particular view of the importance of educational achievement is an integral part of individuals' generalized expectations and perceptions of self and others. (8)

In many ways, of course, such hypotheses are unsatisfactorily researched and incomplete. Even so, they indicate quite clearly to educational planners that if they wish both to improve the quality of education and to increase equality of educational opportunity, they must direct a major part of their attention to the development of pupil and parent motivation for education.

1. See, for example, J. Floud, "Social Class Factors in Educational Achievement" in A.H. Halsey, Ability and Educational Opportunity. OECD, Paris, 1961.

2. D. Wolfle, "Educational Opportunity, Measured Intelligence and Social Background" in A.H. Halsey, J. Floud and C. Arnold Anderson, Education, Economy and Society. The Free Press of Glencoe, New York, 1961.

3. P. Bourdien and J.C. Passeron, Les Héritiers: Les étudiants et la culture. Les éditions de minuit, Paris, 1964.

4. See R.J. Harighurst et al., Growing Up in River City. Wiley, New York, 1962.

5. J.W.B. Douglas, The Home and the School. MacGibbon and Kee, London, 1964.

6. The Plowden Report, op.cit. Vol.II, Appendix 4, p.184.

7. H.H. Hyman, "The Value-System of Different Classes" in Bendix and Lipset, Class, Status and Power. Free Press, New York, 2nd edition, 1966.

8. R. Turner, The Social Context of Ambition, Chandler, San Francisco, 1964.

B. The Process of Socialization and Educational Achievement

Further evidence is available which could be utilized in putting such policies into action. This concentrates more precisely on how and in what ways parents actually transmit their values to their children. Again, these hypotheses are inadequately researched, but, even in their current state, they provide clear indications of the areas to which planners might well turn their attention:

i) "High achievement motivation appears to flourish in a family atmosphere of 'cold democracy' in which initial high levels of maternal involvement are followed by pressures for independence and accomplishment."(1)

ii) Mothers and fathers may play very different roles in "achievement training", mothers playing the dominant role for boys.

iii) Within a country, however, child rearing patterns may differ between social classes. The Newsons recorded, for example, that working-class families in England used more physical punishment and working-class fathers were less likely to participate in the care of the child than was the case for middle-class families. (2) The parental effect on what Bloom calls the "affective entry characteristics" of pupils entering the educational system is, therefore, likely to differ between groups within a country as well as between countries themselves. (3)

iv) A different function is performed by language for different social classes. By the time children go to primary school their linguistic codes and, in conjunction with these, their perceptions of their social and school environment, are already quite distinct. (4) Though recently many of Bernstein's contentions have come under fire, his work instigated an appreciation of the different motivations and levels of cognitive development which children bring into the classroom and of which teachers need to take account. (5)

C. The Social Status of the Teacher and the Teaching Profession

Within this field there are again a number of hypotheses which, even if not definitive, deserve planners' consideration:

i) The teaching profession is particularly attractive to women, but the feminization of teaching may well diminish the attractiveness of teaching, particularly elementary teaching, to men. In addition, where women are more interested in maintaining

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1. U. Bronfenbrenner, "The Changing American Child" in Journal of Social Issues, Vol. XII, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1961.

2. J. and E. Newson, Patterns of Infant Care in an Urban Community. Allen and Unwin, London, 1963.

3. B.S. Bloom, "Individual Differences in School Achievement: A Vanishing Point?" in J.H. Block, ed., Mastery Learning, Theory and Practice. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1971.

4. B. Bernstein, "Social Class and Linguistic Development: A Theory of Social Learning" in Halsey, Floud and Anderson, op.cit.

5. See D. Lawton, Social Class, Language and Education. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1968.

the status quo and, for convenience sake, not raising teaching standards, the status of the teaching profession may be kept at a low level. (1)

ii) There is no evidence that schools and colleges are rigidly bureaucratic. In fact, the autonomy that teachers have is often limited more by pressures from the local community than by organisational pressures. It is arguable, therefore (particularly in the case of the United States), that the decline of lay influence could increase teachers' professional autonomy and therefore help to increase the professional status of teaching. (2)

iii) However, teacher morale and job satisfaction, both closely linked to the support of a professional set of ethics, seem to be influenced not by the extent of the teachers' participation in organisational decision-making but by their conception of its significance. (3)

iv) There is a causal chain between teachers' professional performance and morale and the performance of their pupils. (4)

D [illegible] The School as a Social System

Research in this field has not progressed very far, and few interaction studies of pupil/teacher or teacher relationships are at present available. What evidence there is supports only the most tentative of arguments. Nevertheless, it is worth pursuing the hypotheses that:

i) Teacher attitudes to pupils may be affected by the pupils' socio-economic background. Middle-class teachers may dislike, discriminate against or have trouble in communicating with working-class children and may thus disadvantage them within the educational system. (5)
This contention has also been recently supported by Nell Keddie in a paper (6) in which he argues that certain categories of pupils are relegated by teachers to the ranks of educational failures, not because of inability but because they do not have access to, or are unwilling to take over, the teachers' definition of the classroom situation.

ii) Pupil attitudes to teachers and to the learning process are significantly affected by student social groupings in the school, groupings partly reflecting the structure of the surrounding community and partly the structure of the school. (7) In turn,

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1. Kelsall and Kelsall, Teachers in England and the United States. Pergamon Press, London, 1970.

2. See Burton R. Clark, "Sociology of Education", in Robert E. L. Faris, ed., Handbook of Modern Sociology. Rand McNally, Chicago, 1964.

3. See, for example, A. W. Halpin and D. Croft, The Organisational Climate of Schools. Midwest Administrative Center, University of Chicago, 1963.

4. See N. Gross and R. H. Herriott, Staff Leadership in Public Schools, Wiley, New York, 1965. (See also recent NFER research into teaching French in primary schools.)

5. See, for example, Herriott and St. John, Social Class and the Urban School, Wiley, New York, 1966.

6. Nell Keddie, "Classroom Knowledge" in Michael F. D. Young, ed., Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education, Collier MacMillan, London, 1971.

7. For example, J. S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society. Free Press of Glencoe, New York, 1966.

these serve to detract from or improve student performance, but not necessarily in the most obvious of ways. (1)

iii) Controlling for social class, the total pattern of interaction in the school, or the school "milieu", has been found to have a positive effect on student performance (2) and on teacher confidence and satisfaction. (3)

E. Education and Value Transmission

Within this area of research a number of fairly general but thought-provoking hypotheses have been extensively explored:

i) Although there is no necessary connection between education and democracy, there is convincing evidence that democracies cannot exist without a high level of education in the populations concerned. (4)

ii) The democratization of recruitment to education is relatively independent of educational innovation. Variations in the educational opportunities of poorer classes are connected more frequently with changes in a nation's social and political structure than with an "educational revolution". (5)

iii) Overt political indoctrination in schools may well have no effect. It is effective only in certain supporting social conditions. (6)

iv) Although overt political indoctrination may not take place, educational systems appear to be responsible for the indirect formation of political attitudes. (7) Participation in decision-making at school appears to give individuals more political confidence and encourages them to be more politically active in later life. It does not, however, as far as one can tell, determine the nature of such participation.

v) Particular approaches to or theories of education also encourage support for certain ideologies. Before World War II the emphasis placed in Japan on the importance of "moral education", for example, provided an ideal method for indoctrinating the young with a nationalistic fervour. (8)

There is thus a fair range of well-researched hypotheses attempting to explain the different ways in which groups and individuals experience the formal system of education. The explanations suggested here

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1. B.S. Bloom in J.H. Block, ed., Mastery Learning, Theory and Practice, op.cit.
2. See J. Michael, "High School Climate and Plans for Entering College" in Public Opinion Quarterly, New York, 1961.
3. R.G. Corwin, A Sociology of Education, Appleton Century Crofts, New York, 1965. See also T. Husén, "The Effect of School Structure upon Utilization of Ability: The Case of Sweden and Some International Comparisons" in Social Objectives in Educational Planning. OECD, Paris, 1967.
4. See S.M. Lipset, Political Man, Heinemann, London, 1960.
5. R. Castel and J.C. Passeron, Education, développement et démocratie, Ecole pratique des hautes études, Cahiers du Centre de sociologie européen IV, Mouton, Paris, 1967.
6. C. Arnold Anderson, "Reactions to a Conference" in J.S. Coleman, ed., Education and Political Development, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1965.
7. G. Almond and S. Verba, The Civic Culture, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1963.
8. See H. Passim, "Japan" in J.S. Coleman, ed., Politics of the Developing Areas, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1960.

all emphasize the significance of subjective perceptions of self, education and society in creating or supporting certain socio-educational phenomena and are indicative of what the sociology of education might contribute to educational planning in the immediate future. If in the coming decades educational planning aims both to improve the quality of education and enhance the creative and adaptive capacities of individuals, it is hard to see how it can continue to ignore this type of evidence, whatever the costs or methodological problems involved. (1) A few cautionary words on the nature of this evidence and on the ways in which it may be utilized are, however, in order.

In the first place, studies of this sort, concerned as they are with the social environment of education, do not enter directly into the study of the educational process itself. Efforts to understand and improve the "human development impact" of education rely on a separate and wide-ranging field of data on which educational planning must also draw. It is, nevertheless, essential to recognize how the specific human development processes provided for by different educational systems are related to the social environment. The developmental theories of Piaget, for example, exist in their own right, but they still need to be evaluated within the social and cultural context in which they were developed and within which they are to be put into practice.

Secondly, the extent to which the findings of social research can be generalized, from the particular situations in which they are first developed to other situations, remains questionable. Educational planning is therefore faced with the difficult task of assessing the validity of available hypotheses for its own particular country, region, community or group. This implies, however, that, in utilizing social research in its own particular context, educational planning will itself have to play an integral role in the stimulation and direction of educational research and development in the future.

Thirdly, therefore, supported by a position affording strategic access both to information and individuals, educational planning bodies are well placed to construct new, overall impressions of the nature of the educational system (or systems) with which they are concerned. By continuously searching out the congruence of or contradictions between the findings of research, and assessing the implications of these, they could take the opportunity to put in hand a critical analysis of possible educational futures and provide a realistic yet flexible frame of reference within which to pursue the re-direction of education.

III. GROUP PARTICIPATION AND EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

The previous discussion might have led one to believe that, given a plausible set of hypotheses of the relationship of education to other social factors, educational planners might successfully:

i) develop indicators to measure real, educational progress;
ii) assist with the manipulation of groups in terms of this newly found knowledge;
iii) sponsor further original research and development in the areas found to be of interest.

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1. For a supporting argument see B. Hayward, "The Knowledge Base in Education: A Basis for Long-Term Policy Planning?" in Educational Planning in Perspective, ed. T. Green, Futures/IPC Science and Technology Press, Guildford, England, 1971.

Such a conception of the planning process would, however, be sociologically and politically naive. Up to date, real changes in education have been created largely by conflicts and crises in education itself and within the social environment. Conscious attempts to re-direct education have met with limited success, research and development efforts have frequently ended up in blind alleys and the so-called "knowledge" of planners has failed to establish its authority.

Evidently, then, in planning, arm-chair analysis cannot take one very far. Playing chess at arm's length with educational pieces reveals less about education than about the structure of a planner's mind. It deals in purely inanimate objects, not autonomous individuals. It thinks exclusively in systemic terms and ignores the more complex implications of human interaction. By adhering to the rules of the game it limits its objectives to check-mate or, more readily, stale-mate. In short, to return to the earlier argument, knowledge of structure needs to be supplemented, revitalized and challenged by an understanding of interaction if it is to be put to work.

One comes face to face, therefore, with a range of problems that has, in recent years, been overlooked but that planning can surely no longer fail to define and explore:

i) Educational planning requires knowledge of the social environment if it is to approximate anything more than an ad hoc, non-rational, post-facto activity.
ii) In part, such knowledge must spring from an extensive awareness of the values, motivations, demands and concerns of all involved in education.
iii) Such awareness and empathy cannot be obtained unless planners become more personally involved with those who, in the broadest sense, are affected by education.

Seen as part of the social environment of education, those formally in charge of planning comprise just one of the many groups of individuals whose perceptions of education make up the total structure of interaction. Their own authority and power depend very considerably on the perceptions held of themselves by others as well as on their own degree of control over educational resources. They are frequently far removed from the groups with whom they are dealing and this can result in:

i) their characterization as boffins, technocrats or thoughtless manipulators and their identification as a hostile group;(1)
ii) their own ignorance of the people with whom they are dealing and of the ways in which they themselves are regarded;
iii) their ignorance of forces for change operative in their own environment;
iv) their consequent inability to plan for the future with any hope of having real effect.

This list of consequences is more or less applicable to educational planning at any level. A procedure has, therefore, to be established whereby educational planners can learn to interact with their environment and, through such interaction, reduce the social distances between themselves and other groups and thus, eventually, come to terms with the various forces operative in the educational process.

There is no easy way to create empathy and communication between groups whose life-styles and interests are considerably removed

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1. B. Girod de l'Ain, "La peur et l'isolement" in Le Monde, 25 February 1971, Paris.

from each other. The OECD confrontation meeting reviewing educational policy in Japan illustrated, for example, how difficult it had been during the previous years of university unrest to effect any rapprochement between staff and students. (1) In the majority of situations, however, social distances are neither so extensive nor so difficult to bridge.

In many instances spontaneous moves have already been made to create new possibilities for inter-communication in education. At the pre-school level, parents are frequently accustomed to work together with the teachers and their children. In the schools, parent-teacher organisations are a commonplace and so are joint staff-student councils. In a few instances "community schools" and "community colleges" have accomplished integration on a more extensive scale. On the whole, however, planners have been left outside such projects. Few such moves appear to have arisen at their instigation. What is needed, therefore, is an effort to link educational planning with educational practice and to develop a network of communications whereby all those involved in education may make their views and demands known to each other. Whilst this may sound an impractical proposal, the existence at the institutional level of the rudiments of such a network suggests its feasibility. The flow of opinion and advice through such a network could provide for all groups a range of knowledge and experience at present difficult to obtain.

"Communication" is, however, a deceptive term. At the one extreme it suggests no more than the dissemination of information to a passive audience (a common pedagogic technique). At the other extreme it suggests an active audience response, including an anticipation, sympathetic interpretation and understanding of the message sent and a returning flow of ideas to the original sender. In this more developed sense communication implies, therefore, the emotional and intellectual involvement, or "participation" of both sender and recipient in the interchange of ideas.

One cannot assume, however, that communication implies participation, or that this, as is commonly supposed, in turn implies democratization. Even when participation does occur, it may not be distinguished by the independent, individual responses of free citizens but by the "mass" response of a crowd or the random whims of the "other-directed". (2) The participation in educational policy-making and planning of an opinioned but tolerant public, the only sort of participation compatible with liberal democracy, is an ideal that perhaps only education itself can bring about. Educational planners are inevitably limited, therefore, in any efforts they may make towards greater participation in education by the public.

Inevitably also their efforts are limited by their own perspective of education. The systemic or structural perspective is that of an overlord and contains an in-built distance between the observer and the actors in the system. The phenomenological perspective, as stressed in the earlier part of this paper, implies, however, a basic respect for others, a recognition of the worlds and world views of others and, in general, a recognition of the extreme partiality of one's own view of any situation. The development of a participatory planning process in education is likely to depend very considerably on the planners' choice of perspective and, linked with this, the degree of their respect and tolerance for the views of others.

There will, it has been noted elsewhere, be a congruency between the extent to which other participants' ideas on education are taken serious-

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1. Reviews of National Policies for Education: Japan, OECD, Paris, 1971, Chapter III.
2. D. Riesman, The Lonely Crowd, Doubleday, New York, 1953.

ly by planners and policy-makers and the nature of the re-organisation of education itself. (1) Regarding others' ideas as significant involves a respect for the people themselves. Where consultation takes place between groups and individuals who respect each other, there would seem a good chance that the initial process of consultation will lead eventually to an extension of the right to participate in the formation of policy. Where, however, such respect is lacking and consultation is but a means to obtain the planners' goals, it can only result in manipulation by planners or in open conflict between the different parties.

Can one assume that, in their search for knowledge, educational planners will wish to see a development from consultation to participation to the democratization of the educational process? At the moment, placed as they are between politicians and public, they have an enviable chance of access both to the powers and authority of the former and to the opinions of the latter. They are well placed, that is, to become educational manipulators.

There are, however, many pressures, both in and outside education, that are militating against such a development in the OECD Member countries. The increasing ineffectiveness and effeteness of educational methods, the lack of learning in schools and the irrelevancies of formal education to much of everyday life have aroused protests in many sections of the population. Demands are being articulated for a greater say in educational re-organisation and for greater respect and consideration for the idiosyncrasies of individual development. Thus, should planners seek in the next decade to play a manipulative role or to support the politicians in their own partisan ploys, at least they will have to face an increasingly organised and frustrated opposition.

In addition, and on a more positive note, evidence suggests that some educational planners are beginning to respect the individual's own social environment and the opinions and educational attitudes formulated therein. (2) One can optimistically hypothesize, therefore, a foreseeable change in the orientation and content of planning activities. In this case, instead of looking upward to established authority, or inward to personal ambition, planners can be expected increasingly to look outward. Like the mature adult, freed from parental pressures and purely egoistic urges, planners can be expected to adopt an attitude primarily of concern for the development of others. The paternalism inherent in such concern might be expected to be checked by the planners' recognition of themselves as but one among many other significant educational groups.

This is the planning perspective, it may be contended, that will distinguish a "participatory planning process" from other types of planning. It is no coincidence that it is also the perspective of meaningful social research and, in addition, the only perspective that exhibits any congruency with pedagogic theory. Within the bounds of such a perspective one might hypothesize the following possible developments in the organisation and content of planning activities.

i) A Change in Purpose

Amongst the previous, rather confused purposes of any planning group one might have found: meeting the politicians' targets; distributing

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1. Cf. Part One of this volume.

2. "Emerging Areas of Concern and Current Policy Issues in Educational Planning", OECD Document, Paris, 1971 (mimeographed).

scarce resources in the most efficient manner in terms of these targets; general administration; preparing plans for the immediate and long-term future, and so forth. In place of these one might expect a greater clarification of the planners' raison d'être. One might suggest that planners could now aim: to articulate and present for public criticism the politicians' policies; to try to bring forward other policy outlines being worked on by other interest groups or private individuals; thus to take the first steps to involve the public in policy discussions on education.

This would mean planners acting as brokers of educational ideas or, as Kjell Eide has put it, as "informative critics". In this case their role would become primarily a public role, rather than a government service role. In turn, this would involve four further general developments.

ii) A Change in Organisation

Planners would have to comprise an independent body, free to criticize in public either the present state of education or proposals for its re-organisation. At national, regional and local levels, they would need to establish for themselves an authoritative and respected image. This image would be particularly important in their efforts to make contact with groups other than the official education authorities.

The need to establish such contact would lead to a further change in organisation and also to a further elaboration of the planners' functions. Planners would need to develop strategies for getting to know the main groups involved in education (children, teachers, parents, administrators, employers) and for encouraging these groups to articulate their opinions. Beyond this they would also need to detect and encourage latent groups, or unrecognized groups, with particular interests or needs, i. e. particular learning difficulties or abilities, forms of deprivation and so forth. Clearly this would necessitate planners developing more effective methods of social research.

iii) A Change in Research Activities

In addition to keeping up to date with social research in institutes and universities, planners would need to sponsor, and have the funds to sponsor, further research into areas that they believe from their increased contact with people to be important. In their daily work they would be in a unique position to gain a general impression of neglected needs and persisting inequalities and should be able to direct research more usefully than those closeted in academic research centres. The orientation of such research would demand skilled participant observation in the areas in question and would focus on individuals' own definitions of their difficulties and needs and the feasibility of their various attempted or suggested remedies. Research would thus be concentrated more meaningfully on possible future developments.

iv) A Development of Communications within Education

The development of contacts and relationships with previously organised groups or the organisation of other groups would place planners in a key position in the communication flow in education. They could take the initiative then in developing greater contacts between the various groups and between planning bodies at different levels. The increased flow of information and the development of consultation and debate, all of which would come through the planners' hands, could also help to transform planners into a respected advisory body - as long, that is, as they maintained a non-partisan and independent position.

v) A Distinction between Policy-Making and Decision-Taking

The development of consultation and debate would be likely to arouse in participants a demand not only to participate in the vague elaboration of policy guidelines but also in the more detailed formation of policy. The practicalities of administration and the problems of accountability do demand, however, a distinction between policy-making and decision-taking. The latter, dealing with the everyday mechanics and costings of education, would seem likely to remain a separate sphere of administration which, whilst being open to public discussion, would not be available for public participation. There would, however, have to be an agreement, either formalized or tacit, on where the distinctions between policy-making and decision-taking would be drawn.

This distinction is obviously a difficult one to make and one would expect different countries to arrive at rather different arrangements. Too great an exclusion of the public from policy-making, or too great an involvement of large numbers in decision-taking, would, however, seem equally hazardous in the attempt to develop a flexible education programme. Perhaps it is not necessary, however, to sound this cautionary note as, in most of the OECD Member countries, participation even in the formulation of broad policy guidelines is something of a rarity.

The final outcome of such innovations, in ideal circumstances, could be the introduction of a democratic, learning society. (1) It would be characterized in particular by the two traits by which John Dewey identified democracy: "... not only more numerous and more varied points of shared common interest, but greater reliance upon the recognition of mutual interests as a factor in social control" and "... not only freer interaction between social groups (once isolated so far as intention could keep up a separation) but change in social habit - its continuous readjustment through meeting the new situations produced by varied intercourse". (2) Today, therefore, educational planning has to make a choice: either, by changing its own role and activities, to encourage the development of a democratic and flexible educational system, or to continue within the present confines of autocracy, isolation and ignorance.

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1. See the Appendix on the following page.
2. John Dewey, Democracy and Education, Free Press, New York, 1966, Chapters 7, 2.

Appendix

POSSIBLE STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT IN GROUP PLANNING

Stage	
I Macro-Planning	1. Planners clarify their opinions of the nature of the groups with whom they are working and obtain all available "structural" information. They develop an overall picture of the educational "system". 2. They then re-categorize such groups according to socially relevant criteria like class, race, sex, etc. 3. They rate such rankings against individuals' self-assessments and try to explain any discrepancies, if necessary restructuring their original model.
II Communication	1. Planners organise group discussions with those with whom they are most concerned. 2. They try to evaluate their own objectives and perceptions in terms of those they now encounter. If meaningful communication begins to take place their own objectives and values will have to be defended. 3. Planners may begin to appreciate the wider context of education and the previously unrecognized effect of their decisions.
III Research	1. As the dialogue becomes more extensive, new questions are raised for research, and original problem areas may require re-definition and re-analysis. 2. There will thus be a major feedback into institutionalized research. 3. The future implications of existing situations may also be brought to light in a significant way, requiring a planning re-orientation.
IV Collective Decision-Making	1. By this stage participants will be so aware of what is going on that they will be demanding a right to participate in decision-making. There are various alternatives open to planners at this stage e. g. : a) attempted repression; b) acceptance of the demands, but manipulation; c) democratization; genuine decentralization of decision-making. 2. Only the third process will support a continuous flow of information between groups, make flexible, future-orientated planning possible, and produce a creative and innovative educational structure.
V Democratic Planning	To the extent that the third course is adopted, a learning society will begin to develop. The autonomy and therefore the respect granted to individuals and groups will facilitate their adaptation to rapid social change, enable them to cope with the increasing obsolescence of knowledge and encourage them to make education a life-long experience.

XXI

PLANNING AS ACTION: TECHNIQUES OF INVENTIVE PLANNING WORKSHOPS

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PREFACE

For some, it is painful to act. These are the people deprived of their potency and dispossessed of their selfhood by their socialization and education. Their numbers are legion.

For others, it is painful to think. These are the people who reach after their freedom of action, but find it beyond their grasp. They are the illiterates. They have not learned to articulate and manipulate the symbols by which we impose the meanings of our actions upon the world, and thus establish our potency. Their numbers are legion.

Those who cannot act are often "educated". Those who cannot think are often "educated". They are the same group. They are the failures of our systems of education.

There is another group. Their burden is to think about action. Once, we called them philosophers. Now, we call them planners. In education, their task is to create the conditions within which men, women and children learn to act reflectively. Under such conditions, clients become persons rather than ciphers, possessed of the competencies to test the limits of their action and extend its span.

The mark of our transitional era has been the rapidly increasing numbers of planners needed to maintain the social macrosystems we have constructed to protect ourselves from the consequences of the illiteracy our education systems are producing.

Planners need a new project. The old project was to serve those systems as technicians. The new project is to create the conditions within which persons learn the literacy of action. That literacy consists of competencies to possess, master, discard, and invent new systems of action among persons, who will no longer be possessed, mastered and discarded by present systems.

Planners cannot create these conditions unilaterally. Such conditions can be created only by persons in the systems - in education, by "teachers", "students", "administrators", "parents", etc. Thus, the new project is discovered. It is not to plan. It is to teach planning of the kind described in these pages.

Planners of the old project will not do this until and unless they transcend their traditional roles, to discover the limits and meanings of their own action as persons. They must re-discover their own potency. They must first learn to place their roles and functions as planners in the service of their own personhood and agency.

In short, the new project for planners is to invent the future of planning. This monograph is about that project.

Warren L. Ziegler
Syracuse, New York
December, 1972.

I. SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION

> "We are committed to planning, whether we will or not, and planning is the unity of theory and practice under the primacy of the practical. So long as our most adequate concept is the organic concept, our social planning can only issue in a totalitarian society. This is why the emergent problem of contemporary philosophy is the form of the personal. That is why we must disregard Kant's limitation, take the primacy of practical reason as our starting-point and eliminate dualism."
>
> John MacMurray,
> The 1953-54 Gifford Lectures
> on The Form of the Personal

A. Summary

The central subject of this monograph is inventive planning. (1) My aim is to describe it in such a way that readers will be tempted to engage in the activities of inventive planning. It is a new kind of planning, particularly appropriate to education and to other mass systems of social exchange and interaction.

One way to describe a planning methodology is to elaborate on its techniques. Section III sets forth nine techniques for inventive planning, drawing upon the experience of teaching these techniques to hundreds of participants in inventive planning workshops. But planners, or other persons, will not gain competence in these techniques by reading about them. They are techniques of reflective action whose competencies can only be learned in their doing.

In this new project, much more is at stake than the addition of a new planning methodology to the arsenal of devices by which we hope to control the future and prevent the present from unravelling. To understand what is at stake - no less than the practical reaffirmation in mass education systems of the idea of the person - will not be achieved by the learning of techniques in the same sense that technical planners have learned the competencies associated with forecasting, quantitative analysis and model building. The issue of inventive planning lies not in its techniques, but in its meanings. The structure of the argument in this monograph represents an initial attempt to uncover enough of the meanings of inventive planning - its roots, its assumptions, its methods, its

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1. See page 381, General Acknowledgements.

uses - to tempt the reader to explore the richness of this approach to educational planning.

In Section II, preceding the descriptive inventory of techniques, I relate the idea of inventive planning to the newly popularized idea of participatory planning. Both ideas conceptualize - but differently - a set of activities in which people engage with a view to the future, for planning of any kind is always for the future. Inventive planning facilitates the employment of the critical imagination. It provokes the discovery that the future is a creation of intentional action in the present. It leads to social inventions, in education and in society, by which we translate our intentions into concrete and specific personal and institutional behaviours. Inventive planning takes place in workshops, in seminars, and in institutional/organisational settings where the interpersonal mode has become important. Quite naturally, a question arises. Who should engage in inventive planning? Who should "participate" in these workshops?

Of course, those questions must also be raised in participatory planning. Who should participate, for example, in educational planning? On what grounds? By what means? Performing what activities? And with what consequences? Therefore, we intuit some connection between inventive planning and participatory planning. In Section II, I aim to discover a way to uncover the linkages, if any, between these two practices or methodologies at the level of ideas. The method is to examine ideas central to each.

What links inventive planning to participatory planning? I believe the connection lies in the notion of competency. In a profound sense, and under specific conditions, each person is competent to invent his or her future. In Section II, I attempt a sequential and limited analysis of the ideas of participation, competency and invention in order to reveal the purposes which the instruments of inventive planning serve.

The discussion of participation argues that it is an idea whose meaning and practice is currently fraught with ambiguities. I conclude that the idea of participation is not useful either to prescribe or to justify who should do what in education or in planning for education. The Latin root of the word carries with it an active voice. But in modern society, participation has come to mean, in practice, behaviour in prescribed roles - like those of "teacher", "student", or "planner", etc. - the chief characteristic of which is to set strict limits to actions which role-actors can intend to undertake. In short, the spaces for intentional action in modern, complex, social macrosystems - like education - are scarce. In this sense, inventive planning aims to discover the means - to make the social inventions - to expand and reshape the space for intentional action.

Similarly, the notion of invention, like participation and competency, needs some elaboration. Invention is seen as a consequence of the fruitful marriage of the critical imagination with the idea of intentional action towards the future. It is distinguished from prediction or knowledge about the future. Through the mediation of intentionality, invention is grounded in the notion of the moral person, rather than in the material artifacts which we conventionally understand invention to produce. Underlying this part of the argument is the claim that every person has the capacity for potency, i. e., to act with other persons in the quest to establish new meanings for his or her actions by fashioning or inventing the roles, the institutions and the metaphors by which one's potency gets expressed. The final end of inventive planning and of inventive education is to bring this capacity to fulfilment, through learning and practicing the competencies associated with it.

Section III consists of a descriptive inventory of some workshop techniques for inventive planning. In order, they are:

i) Questioning the future;
ii) Adopting planning stances;
iii) Specifying goals;
iv) Transforming goals into occurred states of affairs;
v) Stipulating goal consequences;
vi) Identifying indicators of goal occurrence;
vii) Value-shift assessment;
viii) Goal trade-offs and priority setting;
ix) Development and analysis of future-histories, leading to action in the present.

Some readers may be inclined to turn immediately to Section III, on the grounds that these techniques are the meat of the argument. That strategy is not recommended. For underneath this flesh is a skeleton, which gives structure, solidity and flexibility to the techniques. Flexibility is crucial. These techniques, which can only be summarized in these pages, are themselves inventions. Planners and other participants in workshops can and do invent new ones, as well as modifying this set. It is my great hope that readers will be moved by this rendition to employ their critical imagination to fashion their own devices for inventing the future of education after they have come to some initial understanding of why they should do this.

This admonition brings us, finally, to Section IV of the monograph. Here, I address a form of the following question. What are the practical implications of the foregoing discussion for members of the policy apparatus or of the planning bureaucracy? That form is an analysis of the continuum between span of action in the present and scope of inquiry about the future. Our space for action in the present is always limited. Our inquiry into the future has no limits, certainly not of space or time. Planners, like students, teachers, school administrators, and other role-actors in education systems have a span of action. Its historic limits can be defined. They know it, not in theory, but in practice. Within it, they can begin, as persons first, as planners secondarily, to invent their futures; to discover what that means; to invent the future of planning. That invention may well result in a new role for planners and meaning for planning. Planners, in and out of education, may begin to see themselves as facilitators, as teachers, as persons at the centre of systems who encourage and assist an increasing number of their clients at the periphery and far reaches of the system to learn to invent their educational futures.

B. Introduction: From the Futures-Perspective to Participation

For those readers familiar with the development of futurology over the past two decades, it will be noted that throughout the monograph the language of the future is used. There is a reason. This monograph is central to my continuing investigation on the futures-perspective in education, initiated in 1969 for the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, (1) and part of on-going work at the Educational

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1. The two earlier documents prepared specifically for OECD-CERI are "An Approach to the Futures-Perspective in American Education", in Alternative Educational Futures in the United States and in Europe: Methods, Issues and Policy Relevance, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris, 1972; and "Normative and Distributive Aspects of the Outlook Activity in Policy Planning for Alternative Educational Futures".

Policy Research Center at Syracuse. Since 1969, two factors have emerged. One is practical experience acquired in applying the futures-perspective to planning. The other is the re-emergence of the idea of participation in many countries, now applied to planning through the call for a participatory planning process. These two factors bear directly on the subject of this monograph. They have substantially influenced my understanding of what it means to apply the futures-perspective to education and to planning.

First, since 1969 a variety of practical experience has been gained in applying the futures-perspective: in lower, higher and adult education; in urban affairs and the future of cities; in ecological and social environmental matters; and at local, state, regional and national levels. (1) This experience has modified initial ideas about the meaning of the futures-perspective. It has forced the revision of some planning tools and the invention of others, because some participants in these practical problem-solving or decision-making groups have not been planning experts and officials. Sponsors of the futures-perspective have reason to be encouraged by these practical efforts, for they have demonstrated that initial theoretical work in this area could be translated into concrete, specific acts of policy planning and decision by non-experts confronted with current choices about the future.

Moreover, these practical activities have tended to confirm the claim that a major difference between alternative futures planning and more conventional planning lies in the pedagogical style and heuristic results of the futures-perspective when applied to policy formulation and to planning. Conventional planning has generally assumed that the future will be much like the present in broad outline, thus relying primarily on the application of a set of rather sophisticated predictive and management control techniques, like PPB, operations research, econometric modelling and simulation, manpower forecasting and the like. Even at the outset, the futures-perspective called for an identification and examination of alternative scenarios. One consequence of the latter approach has been a gradual recognition that much learning was needed by experts, policy-makers and citizens to begin to understand what it means to confront a future which is really many futures. That learning became recognized as one principal aim of the futures-perspective approach.

With that recognition, the field has divided into two camps. One camp accepts the idea of alternative futures, but proposes to maintain control of those futures. By developing quantitative predictive instruments which assign to these futures probability estimates, current decisions of an adaptive or preventive character can be taken. The other camp has taken a less technicist stance. It has opted for a more humanistic approach, of which the chief instrument becomes a method for inventing the future - as opposed solely to preventing or adapting to it. The chief assumption of the inventive stance, in education, in planning, and in all social affairs, is that most people possess largely untapped resources of mind, emotion and spirit. These are revealed in a rich display of imagination, intellectual acumen and pragmatic decision-making if the participants come to believe in their own potency and agency, as persons capable of affecting the future. The problem, then, is to convey this belief in the possibility and desirability of one's impact on the future and the present so that despair or nonchalance towards one's own situation - present and

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1. Most of this growing experience is only now becoming documented. An initial start in this direction is Michael Marien and Warren L. Ziegler, eds., The Potential of Educational Futures, National Society for the Study of Education, Worthington, Ohio, Charles A. Jones Publishing Co., November 1972.

future - is replaced by hope and intentionality. Experience has begun to demonstrate that the reflective action practised in futures-invention workshops leads to the development of this belief.

From the foregoing, it may be surmised that the second factor which has influenced the theory and practice of the futures-perspective has been the idea of participation per se. More precisely, the development of understanding about the futures-perspective has, among some of its proponents, forced attention to the question of who ought to engage in inventing the future of education, i. e., what kinds of persons, in what positions and roles, on what grounds, and possessing what dispositions and competencies. That is to say, who is an expert about the future?

How did the idea of participation become a new focus for persons concerned with the future of education, and with planning for it? Obviously, participation possesses powerful emotional appeal to citizens of societies whose history is rich with struggles over social justice within the legal-political framework of representative governments and democratic processes. Within these societies, participation serves particularly well as a tactical metaphor for dissatisfied clients of large social systems. Education is one of, if not the, largest social service delivery systems in Western or industrialized nations, and in many poorer countries as well. Among many people who previously addressed questions about the future of education, there is an increasing number who now find that the metaphor of participation serves even more satisfactorily their interests in and demands for educational reforms.

Although the ideas of the futures-perspective in educational planning and participation in educational organisations do not derive from the same philosophical or experiential roots, still they have now come to be intuitively connected by proponents of both (of which, of course, I am one). One purpose of this monograph is to test the strength of that connection. More precisely, I shall attempt to illuminate the linkages, if any, between the idea and substance of participation in the guidance of educational systems and planning for the future of those systems. In short, the question of how to plan for the future of education can no longer be addressed separately from the question of who does the planning. Both questions, of course, are instrumental to the larger question of what is education for . . . once again, the problem of education's goals in societies undergoing pervasive social transition and a breakdown in agreement about the meaning of the central myths, symbols and words of our civilization.

II. CONCEPTUAL ISSUES IN INVENTIVE PLANNING: PARTICIPATION, COMPETENCY AND INVENTION

A. Problems with the Idea of Participation

Participation (often modified to participatory democracy in Western nations) possesses an ancient lineage, traceable back to the Greek polis. These ancient roots are entangled with the roots of other seminal ideas of Western civilization, like authority, power or coercion, equity, social justice, freedom, order, legitimacy, community, responsibility and notions of the self. The literature of the last 2500 years is enormously rich in a discussion of these ideas. Any extended account of participation in education or in planning is incomplete unless it draws upon the philosophical tradition, the social science research and the practical effects of these other ideas.

While such an elaboration is impossible within the confines of this monograph, some minimal exploration of how the idea of participation is rooted in human experience must be undertaken for spurious ideological and emotional appeal surround recent debate over participation in education. They choke a sturdy and age-old quest for human liberation from whatever, in any generation, comes to be called oppression. As Ivan Illich and Paolo Freire remind and explain to us, the human interaction of teaching and learning is encased in a system of superiority and subordination within the organised social arrangements of education and other systems of industrial and feudal-agricultural societies. The question of who is superior and who is subordinate - for what reasons of human needs, competencies, self-perceptions, role-definitions, and social conventions - is, in education, in grave dispute. Unfortunately, it is not clear that appeals to a participatory mode of social relationship in education systems, whether in the classroom or the ministerial office, clarifies by itself the question of how learning needs, teaching competencies, and governance roles are to be redefined and redistributed.

The very ambiguity in the term participation, or participatory democracy, affords us little initial leverage to get at the claim that in policy-making, planning and governance in education a new mode of organisation is required. Consider, for example, how the term participation can be understood from one sociological perspective. Here, we would be on safe ground to define participation as a mode (or style) of role relationships within organised systems. In this mode, each role-actor is expected to contribute a product to the common organisational goal or systemic function according to some explicit or implicit and agreed upon criteria or rules. These criteria define the nature of that contribution: its quantity, its quality, its worth or value. These criteria also identify a set of sanctions and rewards which, if effectively applied, limit each actor in the role relationship to some specified contribution and no other.

Sometimes, these criteria are held implicitly. They are expressed in deeds, not words, and are legitimated by common understandings which emerge out of a tradition. In short, these criteria of exchange are so powerful that they need not be consciously analyzed by the actors, though they may be continuously acknowledged in some symbolic fashion. Typically, this implicit character of rules of behaviour, and kind and worth of contribution, is an indicator of the community ... but not of a society organised through contractual commitments, a complex division of labour, and a hierarchical structure of bureaucratic roles in macro-systems. Education systems represent a mixture of both implicit and explicit criteria for role-definition and exchange. As education systems grow larger, however, the very complexity of the massive human interaction has tended to shift more of the rules and criteria into the explicit domain of legal and contractual definition. In the classroom, however, there remains much that is implicit in the character of the role relationships.

For example, in most school systems we may talk about a "student" role and a "teacher" role, as if we really did understand the kinds of behaviours legitimated and expressed in these roles. Each actor - teacher or student - contributes a product according to criteria which, in general, are understood and accepted by both because neither can act out the role unilaterally. Traditionally, the student contributes an empty mind - to be filled with a content called knowledge, attitudes and skills. This content, in a stable society, derives from an implicit agreement about the minimum set of competencies and beliefs to perform in adult roles . . . like employment and occupation, marriage, child-rearing, loyalty to the nation-state, and the transmission to the next generation of the operative values of the society or social class.

The teacher contributes a set of knowledge, attitudes and skills of which it is agreed he or she is in possession. Indeed, in modern, complex school systems, a process of special training (in which the teacher is "student") must be undertaken by a candidate for that role. His or her acquisition of these competencies must be formally certified, by itself a complicated process of rule setting and rule application. These rules provide students, parents, school administrators (who do the hiring), school boards or other public policy-makers and governors (who collect taxes and spend money for public education), and the citizen (who pays the taxes or the school fees) with a ready-made, easily applied formula for guaranteeing that the role behaviour of the teacher - his or her contribution - will conform to conventionally accepted standards of performance.

Of course, in any individual case of teacher or student that guaranty may not hold; but since we are talking about millions of teachers and students in a system, the certification process enables everybody to act as if the teacher-student role relationship, in general and in aggregate, were understood and agreed to by the millions of actors in that role relationship.

We are currently witnessing a breakdown of conventional beliefs about what it means to teach and who can or should teach; what it means to learn and who can or should learn; and what should be taught and learned. That erosion of conventional wisdom about the means and ends of education has affected every structure and role in the education system, not only the teacher-student relationship. The new interest in participatory planning is, in part, a consequence of a breakdown in clarity and agreement about the bureaucratic role, function, and purpose of the "official" educational planner vis-à-vis educational policy-makers (elected or appointed) and clients (students, teachers, parents, citizens), etc.

The concept of role-reciprocity, briefly applied to the teacher-student relationship, reflects how some sociologists begin to understand the nature of social interaction. The concept is constantly applied to many important areas of everyday life - in relationships between husband and wife, parent and child, foreman and assembly-line worker, seller and buyer, lawyer and client, elected official and voter, etc. We say that the student participates in his school system and in his education, as does the teacher; the worker participates in the factory or industrial system and in production, as does the foreman and manager; the child participates in family life, and in his socialization or upbringing, as does the parent; the campesino participates in the feudal system of land ownership and agricultural production, as does the patron; and the technical educational planner participates in a complicated policy planning system and process, as does the minister of education or the chief state school officer.

Note, however, that the student's participation in education is not the same as the teacher's. These are two different roles, with different but complimentary sets of competencies, needs, expectations and functions. But we may claim, quite properly, that one conventional usage as well as one sociological understanding applies the term participation to both sides of these complex role relationships. Moreover, each of these cases is commonly understood to be characterized by a quality of superiority and subordination, whether legitimated by power and coercion, authority, or persuasion.

It is also true, however, that we use other words to describe other aspects of these relationships. For example, we commonly say that the student and teacher interact with each other, that the parent and child interact with each other, etc. Sometimes the notions of involvement or engagement are also employed to describe specific characteristics of these relationships. Our choice of words - interaction, participation, involvement, engagement, etc. - would seem to depend upon the following kind of question. Do we wish to convey a concern about human relationships, relationships in roles, or relationships within larger and more complex institutions and systems? This, then, is the crux of the matter, and may give a clue to the confusing state of affairs with respect to participation.

The root meaning of participation comes from the Latin participare, conveying the idea of partaking in or joining/sharing with others. Participare contains a form of the Latin verb, capare, to take or catch. Thus, one sense of participation originally had an active voice. It is important to note that we now often speak of active participation, as if the call for participation, by itself, were not clear to convey the meaning of action and responsibility. Still, there are many meanings for action and responsibility. Clarifying these meanings in practice becomes a serious issue in both inventive and participatory planning. The call for participation, particularly in social macro-systems, by moving actors from one role, like "student" or "teacher", to another role, like "planner" or "policy-maker", does not clarify and render accessible a crucial choice. It is between passive participation in prescribed roles and functions of institutions and systems, like a system for educational planning and governance, and active participation in redefining the very rules and criteria which guide or control behaviour in these institutions and systems. It is one matter to participate actively in one's education, by establishing its conditions, its goals, its meanings through inventive planning; it is another matter to participate (passively) in conditions, goals and meanings determined and legitimated by the authority of tradition, of hierarchy, or of power and coercion. A great deal of participation in educational planning and governance is of the second kind. In such a case, "participants" have no opportunity, and may not possess the competencies, to invent and test out in action alternative meanings and structures for planning and governance in education.

By itself, then, participation does not clarify who does what in the educational setting, much less in the educational planning process. The issue of who partakes or shares in that process cannot be settled unless attention is paid to a prior question. For what reasons does any person engage in education which is losing its former bureaucratic mystique and its former appeal to the legitimate authority of hierarchical educational structures? At present, particularly in the United States and Canada, participatory claims carry a specific egalitarian character. The ostensible aim of client groups to "participate" in determining the conditions for and arrangements of their education is to "flatten out" a hierarchical governance structure among administrators, teachers and students and to extend the range and increase the numbers of formal governance roles and decision-making responsibilities.

The notion of equality, like participation, is also fraught with ambiguity. It is of little precise help in clarifying the rules and criteria for the distribution of various educational roles on which men can agree. While egalitarian ideology possesses powerful appeal as a counter-weight to and substitute for hierarchy, it is of little operational value for determining a reasonable basis for distributing educational opportunities, benefits and roles within the present education system. In the United States, we have witnessed the massive failure in the past decade of poverty programmes. Their use of educational instruments to upgrade the employability, income, literacy and educational attainment of America's hard core poor, and their children, is evidence that issues of distributive or social justice in this affluent society are much more complex than egalitarian proponents of the educational reform movement have assumed.

Still, in the ideas of participation, participatory democracy and equality there is contained a powerful, hidden element which we should acknowledge. These ideas, and their expression in social action movements, stand as surrogates for a deep-seated yearning among the populace for a sense of individual potency, and impact on the conditions of life. It is to this yearning for a sense of autonomy and selfhood among human beings caught up in modern, complex, interdependent, impersonal, mass systems to which inventive planning appeals and for which it provides a practical demonstration of its possibilities.

Hierarchy is generally understood to be opposed by equality. In most educational systems in the West, as well as in other massive social service delivery systems, we may expect increasing demands by client groups for an alteration in hierarchical structures of governance in favour of more egalitarian arrangements. Such demands will emerge with rising force as formal education systems begin to crumple under the heavy weight of social problems which are laid at education's door (e. g. , social problems like social and economic inequity, poverty and unemployment, intergenerational conflict, erosion of the work ethic, etc.). But their devolution does not mean the termination of education. On the contrary, education may regenerate and flower within new structures and activities which speak forcefully to man's impotence and provide imaginative and effective learning environments for a new literacy. Of course, alternative scenarios are conceivable. A very popular scenario among policy-makers calls for reserving access to the new literacy to a technocratic elite trained to manipulate the minds of men and to control the guiding mechanisms of complex, interdependent, trans-national social systems. It is the Faustian - or the Grand Inquisitor - scenario perpetrated by those whose faith in their capacity to manage the complex future is matched by their belief that any social system deserving to be called a system is too complex to permit its inhabitants to tinker with it.

Policy-makers and governing officials have important choices to make in their response to the demands of client groups to determine the conditions of their own education. One response in recent years has been the employment of force and other kinds of coercion to reestablish an orderly educational setting when its hierarchical and previously stable structure has been ruptured by confrontation or disruptive behaviour among clients.

A second response is more permissive. Here, the policy and administrative apparatus accedes to some client demands, but not to others, providing the semblance but not the substance of active participation. In some cases, participatory demands get worked out through constitutional (i. e., formal legalistic) revision, such as separating out an organisational unit of schooling and placing part, if not all, of its control in the hands of a specific client group. Decentralized schools, which really means decentralized governance, represent one example. In other cases, the policy apparatus responds to participatory demands by providing access to existing governance structures, like school boards, boards of trustees of universities, fact-finding and policy commissions. The capacity of large systems to co-opt recalcitrant clients by upgrading their position in an hierarchical system is absolutely enormous. Obviously, the blandishments of increased status, prestige, income or power appeal to the need for potency among clients harassed by these systems.

But a third type of response is possible. It is not preventive, relying on force or more subtle forms of coercion to maintain hierarchical structures of authority in education. It is not adaptive, employing permissive styles of participation in the hope of containing the present wave of participatory democracy in education within the maintenance of our present systems. It is the inventive response. Here, policy-makers, administrators, planners and other persons in the official governing structure seek to facilitate and encourage participation by all persons in an active exploration of the means and ends of education. This is inventive planning, and it is inventive education. It demands a new literacy, the learning of competencies which are too seldom acknowledged as the proper objective of education. Its mode is the persuasive effects of reflective action of persons engaged in a common project. It appeals to the one element common to all persons: their capacity for potency and selfhood, which places all persons on an egalitarian footing rooted in the human condition. Inventive planning and inventive education use the metaphors of the futures-perspective because these encourage client groups to transcend the limits of conventional action and understanding prescribed in their everyday roles in order to engage in an active exploration of the conditions and meanings of their own education (past, present and future).

B. The Competency Approach

The aim in this section is to understand the nature of the competencies required to do educational planning. A competency-based analysis may help unravel the ambiguities inherent in the idea of participatory planning. One could attempt to justify the idea of participatory planning by appeal to a moral claim that every person ought to participate in the formulation of every policy decision which affects his life. That is not my immediate aim. Of course, the two approaches - the analysis of competencies vis-à-vis the appeal to the ideology of democracy - ultimately come together. Both rest on an attempt to understand what we mean by a person. That is the major question of our transitional era. In other eras, appeals to authority of tradition enabled people to distinguish rather clearly, at least in everyday life, those social categories of human action in which it was conventionally agreed they could exercise the competencies associated with personhood.

Today, it is quite a different matter. In the United States, for example, such issues as a Bill of Rights for school students, the rights of welfare clients, of persons incarcerated in prisons and insane asylums, of women and of ethnic and linguistic minorities - these are scores of millions of human beings - should be understood as a reemergence of the fundamental legal and political question about what it means to be a person. The notion of expertise in complicated matters of national policy, leading some to expound a theory of technocracy, is too facile an answer to this question. Technocracy rests on the assumption that the mass of citizenry are incompetent in these matters. That very assumption demonstrates the incompetency of those who make it to get at the overriding problem of what it means to be a person!

The idea of competency is intimately involved with the ideas of participation, authority, responsibility and community. The word competency refers to skills and abilities. Its Latin root is competere, to strive together, from which modern usage also gets the word compete. The meaning of competency is bound up in the notion of being properly or well qualified. A properly qualified person is one who, for a specific set of activities, is deemed by his peers to possess those skills and abilities appropriate to the function of role. In a stable society, most people will agree about the rules for selecting and training people to become properly or well qualified for a variety of social roles. In our present transitional era, such agreement, for example in education, appears to be eroding. Therefore, we must examine the competencies called for in futures-planning, rather than assume any particular mode of distribution throughout the population.

Let us examine two cases as examples of the competency-based approach to educational planning. The first is an extreme case in school governance. Students, between the ages of ten and fourteen, exercise the following responsibilities:

a) deciding what courses and sequence of instruction to take;
b) choosing, among an available set of teachers, who teaches them;
c) deciding the criteria according to which an annual operating budget is allocated among various items for expenditure;
d) evaluating their own rate of progress in achieving learning outcomes, and on those grounds, revising either or both the learning outcomes to be achieved over a given time period and the learning strategies to reach these outcomes;
e) choosing the school principal, in concert with parents and teachers.

The exercise of these responsibilities would seem, on the face of it, to include the calculation of alternative strategies with a view towards determining and bringing about some future end. In its generic sense, then, planning would seem to play a part in the decision-process through which these responsibilities are implemented. In fact, each one of the activities can be found in some elementary or secondary schools in the United States, though they are the exceptional cases. They imply a change in the criteria for selecting which persons engage in these kinds of educational governance and planning activities. Opposition to such a change is usually based on the argument that children, age ten to fourteen, are incompetent to perform those activities. It is usually assumed that (a) these competencies are associated with adulthood, and (b) they are allocated and rationed through a selection process, like certification, among some adults as teachers, or school administrators, or elected/appointed members of school boards.

If, however, students in these schools possess competencies associated with these determinations, then do all students possess them? What is risked if we acted as if students could learn these competencies earlier than we usually believe possible? What changes would occur in a school or in an education system if we affirmed the purpose of providing action space for students to test out competencies of this kind, to develop a literacy based on acquiring the skills and abilities to inquire into the means and ends of their own education? I do not know the answer to these questions; I suspect the answer of any educator who claims to know. These questions can be translated into hypotheses which can be tested in action and evaluated through social action research. Inventive education for youth is the educational form of inventive planning. It is unlikely, however, that parents, teachers or school administrators will be prepared to support this testing unless they are also prepared to raise the same kind of questions about their roles and responsibilities, and seek to learn the competencies associated with inventing their futures. But in closed, hierarchical education systems, parents, teachers and school administrators will not be encouraged to do this unless the policy and planning officials at the top are willing to impose upon themselves the same kinds of questions.

A second example may help clarify these issues. Consider the case of educational planners who engage in manpower forecasting. They will be equipped (i. e., possess the skills) through extended training to employ a formal language of mathematics and the abstract tools of modelling or simulation. Their skills and knowledge will be such as to enable them to manipulate, according to specific, formal rules, a set of quantitative variables. These rules derive from a theory which says that it is possible to represent the relationships among certain social phenomena in a mathematical model which can then be manipulated in such a way as to predict the behaviour of these social phenomena in the future under specified conditions. The competencies required to perform the manpower analysis for large education systems need not be - and, in fact, are not - very widely distributed among the millions of actors in those systems.

We must probe a little further. Competencies needed to act in planning roles of a certain kind, e. g., those which call for technical manpower forecasting, ultimately derive from a certain understanding of what education is all about. In other words, the formal, bureaucratized planning role takes on its social meaning or intelligibility through its contribution to the functioning of a larger social system of a specific kind. In fact, manpower forecasting tools are generally employed in those societies where education is understood to produce and distribute various sets of skills, knowledge and attitudes among the youth population in order to fill, by rationing, the multiplicity of specialized jobs within a complex economic organisation. This understanding has tended to limit the meaning of education - in this sense, its purposes - to serving the production-consumption-distribution-commodity metaphors of industrial societies as well as those non-industrialized nations which aim to industrialize.

Such societies are characterized by a complex division of labour. The following policy planning (hence political) questions have been asked:

1) How - according to what criteria and selective mechanisms - are economic roles and statuses to be distributed?
2) How can educational instruments be employed to teach the skills and select out the dispositions which qualify youth to take on these roles as adults?
3) How can an education system be tracked in such a way as to emulate the differentiating characteristics of complex industrial societies?

In these societies, some jobs, roles, and positions accrue more status, income and a sense of self-worth and potency than do others.

In retrospect, these questions have been answered. The result is a view of education systems not dissimilar to a view of industrial systems. An examination of the language used in both cases reveals this. Educational planners usually calculate the following kinds of factors in formulating their plans and policies: students (numbers, locations, ages, I. Q. scores and socio-economic backgrounds), facilities, instructional materials, teachers, administrative personnel, financial resources, test scores, certificates, licences and credentials. Each of these factors are usually described and treated as if they were inputs, throughputs and outputs of a system. In the larger dynamic of society, planning specialists have attempted - with some success - to make education systems function as efficient inputs to industrial systems.

This example is much over-simplified. Most education systems for youth - as distinguished from reledial or "second-chance" adult education systems - are not restricted solely to serving a concept of economic man. Well or poorly, they also seek to prepare youth for many other activities of the generalized adult role: marriage, child-rearing, citizenship and civic responsibilities, leisure, etc. Moreover, this example is not chosen to condemn those educational planners who employed manpower forecasting and analysis as the tools of their trade in promoting educational and economic growth. Rather, the example illustrates a simple proposition: that systems of education, including their planning roles and tools, are grounded in conventionally-held assumptions about extra-educational phenomena, i. e., some view of man and society. To uncover the linkages, if any, between inventive planning and participatory planning, these assumptions must be unpacked: note that the manpower approach to educational planning rests on the claim that social selection will be served most efficiently - if not most equitably - not by teaching all youth every competency, but by teaching some youth some competencies and other youth other competencies.

During the last two decades, many industrialized nations and some developing countries embarked upon successful educational growth policies commensurate with economic growth policies. Manpower planning, social demand and rate of return analysis became very popular. All of these planning approaches had to deal with a set of powerful social facts which cannot be ignored under any circumstances. These social facts are the durable raw material out of which hierarchical social institutions and systems are born. They are:

1) people learn different skills at different rates and at different ages under different social arrangements and learning conditions;
2) they possess different levels of competencies in various categories of social behaviour;
3) they possess different dispositions, attitudes, needs and wants.

That set of gross social facts cannot, it seems to me, be disputed. Of course, there is little agreement among social scientists or public policy-makers about the reasons for social differentiation. Arguments rage over what these social facts mean or what to do about them. The social phenomenon aptly called the "group of last entry", which plagues every educational system devoted to establishing equality of educational opportunity, is only one consequence of social differentiation. There is apparently some correlation between the distribution of employment and jobs, income and social status, on the one hand, and the distribution of learning opportunities and competencies, on the other. But the causes, nature and morality of this fit continue in dispute, nor is this state of affairs a new matter. Over the centuries, much moral and political philosophy has attempted to account for social differentiation so as to provide prescriptions for what we ought to do about it, if anything. Since the emergence of positivism, a great deal of social scientific, biological and psycho-neurological research has attempted to explain the facts of social differentiation in a scientific way. Social reformers have assumed that understanding the causes of social differentiation would facilitate the development of more effective social policies to ameliorate the consequences or eliminate the causes, neither of which were accepted as inevitable. Programmes like equality of educational opportunity, social welfare, income maintenance and the like proliferate throughout the Western world. The idea of recurrent education is, in some countries, the latest contender to do battle with inter- and intra-generational inequities. The problem of inequity, in all its forms, is the moral problem of social differentiation in modern societies. It lies in the moral domain because it treats the problem of distributive justice, i. e., who gets what, when, where and how, according to what criteria. Poverty, inequity, alienation, social discontent and personal frustration are words we use to affirm that some consequences of social differentiation are not accepted as inevitable, even if one accepts the universality of the condition.

The point is this: proponents of inventive planning and of participatory planning in education must deal with the facts of social differentiation. They cannot avoid saying something about the nature and distribution, the teachability and learnability, of those dispositions and competencies which underlie their philosophies and prescriptions. If the claim is made - as it most certainly is - that these approaches will produce better education, then it is incumbent upon their proponents to deal with the problems of social differentiation and selection.

The question of who should become engaged in educational planning activities is thus reformulated into the following tasks:

1) identifying and defining a set of dispositions and competencies appropriate to the kinds of planning intended;
2) discovering their mode of distribution;
3) asserting (or hypothesizing) which, if any, are universal by reason of moral or scientific claims;
4) discovering which can be taught by whom to whom, or learned by whom, under what conditions.

C. The Meaning of Inventive Planning

I have said that the inventive approach towards the future (in education and in planning) demands a new literacy, the learning of competencies which are too seldom acknowledged as the proper objective of education; that its mode is persuasion; and that it appeals to the element common to all persons, i. e., their capacity for potency and selfhood, which places all persons on an egalitarian footing rooted in the human condition.

I must say something more about this "one common element". By acknowledging the universality and imbeddedness in human nature of this capacity for potency and selfhood, we lay the groundwork for the humanistic approach to futures-planning and to education. This belief gives to the techniques of inventive planning their questive and action-oriented character. Inventive planning is grounded in a belief in the intrinsic worth of human beings who, by their nature and irrespective of their official position in society, possess the potential - and often the actual - ability to act competently with a view to their own future. The practical inventive techniques translate this belief into an hypothesis about a future state of affairs which is tested in action by the participants each step of the way from their perception of the future back to their action in the present (i. e., "rolling planning"). (1)

Inventive planning is a style of action in the present guided by an intentional view of the future. It derives, in part, from the futures-perspective. This perspective holds that (a) the future consists of alternatives, and that (b) none of these is inevitable or pre-determined. Inventive planning is placed in the humanistic camp, thus distinguishing it from the policy sciences. In the name of science, the future is claimed as the domain of contingent and probablistic knowledge, law-like in character, rather than as the domain of intentionality and imagination. The inventive approach does not deny the possibility of knowledge claims about the future (i. e., that such and such will happen under specified conditions with some degree of likelihood). It emphasizes, however, that contingent knowledge of the future is never sufficient grounds for determining what we ought to do.

Thus, there exists a striking moral - as distinguished from moralistic - component in inventive planning which, like the moral component in education, rests on a belief that persons impact upon the future by the consequences of their actions in the present. Indeed, there is a sense in which these actions choose the future. Thus, the purpose of inventive planning for education, like education itself, is to develop competencies to engage consciously in choosing the future by inventing a future according to acknowledged intentions.

To invent the future means to discover ways of acting in the present to bring about a better future which is intended and chosen. In this belief, education itself, to which planning is an adjunct, is seen as a form of action which requires the progressive assimilation of those competencies and the flowering of those dispositions which enable a person to act in and act upon his world. Not all of these competencies will be learned in school, but some will. For example, learning the competencies appropriate to the continuous acquisition, utilization and discard of knowledge according to some criteria - which themselves have to be learned and tested - is one necessary component in a new literacy of human action. The linguistic skills of reading and writing, which are generally taught to youth in school, are a set of competencies which enable persons to name their world. (As Paolo Freire states, the same proposition holds for the literacy training of adults.) (2) This means they have developed the minimum competencies to act in conjunction with other persons who share a common language, an appreciation of its power, and the willingness to explore the consequences of wrong-namings.

There is also a literacy of planning, which my colleague Stuart Sandow has aptly named a pedagogy. (3) The planning literacy required in the inventive approach includes a competency to distinguish between knowledge about the future and intentions towards the future. In this pedagogy, one learns the future rather than learns about the future; and thus, one learns the past, rather than learns about the past. In short, action in the present towards the future and informed by the past means that the person has transcended the future as object. The person has, indeed, moved beyond the notion of chronological time which translates actions into a necessary chain of events. The person substitutes for it

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1. Warren L. Ziegler, "An Approach to the Futures-Perspective in American Education", *op.cit.*, p.118.

2. Paolo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, New York, Herder and Herder, 1972.

3. Stuart A. Sandow, *The Pedagogical Structure of Methods for Thinking About the Future*, *op.cit.*

intentional actions based upon hope, employing the imagination and utilizing cognition and its domain of knowledge not as a limit to what we ought to do, but as a practical means to doing it better.

Thus, the inventive stance emphasizes the search for personhood and agency within the planning process. Action in the present represents the outcome of bringing to fruition the capacity for potency, which all persons seek but not all of them get to express. Social differentiation, in this sense, can be understood as the working out - in social roles, structures and institutions - of differential opportunities to act in and upon the world. Such opportunities are severely rationed in modern, complex, interdependent societies of social macrosystems. It is that scarcity, in education and in society, which inventive planning and inventive education seek to change. To do so will require the development of competencies appropriate to those actions which persons undertake intentionally with a view to bringing about a better future. I must emphasize, however, that inventive planning is one way - but only one way - to learn these competencies.

III. ACTIVITIES IN INVENTIVE PLANNING: TECHNIQUES UTILIZED IN WORKSHOP EXPERIENCE

A. Some Practical Caveats

Section III comprises an inventory and description of nine practical inventive techniques. They have been developed, and undergo continuous test and revision, to enable persons to explore the conditions and meanings of inventing their educational futures. Over the past several years, I have worked with hundreds of people, in education and in other systems, institutions and areas of concern, in seminars and workshops which have ranged from one day to one week, and sometimes one day per month for several months. There has been no systematic evaluation of the impact of these techniques; nor is any rigorous evaluation proposed here. Rather, my intention is to describe these techniques in such a way that readers will begin to sense what is possible in their employment as planning tools.

This is an inventory of practices in intentional action towards the future. No attempt is made to construct a theory of these practices. Section II, on the ideas of participation, competency and invention, might be considered a prolegomenon to such theory construction, containing at least some of the main conceptual points with which a theory must deal. However, at this time an adequate theory is not necessary for learning and testing these techniques, and inventing new ones. For they are practical exercises in intentional action of the reflective kind. The competencies associated with them can neither be learned nor understood by reading about them. Some examples are given, but examples are not evidence, and they do not prove the case. Proof, in the scientific sense, is not the topic of the following discussion. Temptation is. Some readers, especially planners and policy-makers, will ask, "What have I to gain in participating in these workshops as a person seeking to discover the limits to my action and the strength of my intentions?" Other readers, also planners and policy-makers, will ask, "What have I to lose?" Some idea of risks and gains may be conveyed in this description.

Generally, I shall employ the following format. Each technique will be listed separately. It will be explicated by attention to the question it requires participants to address, and a statement of its purposes within the inventive planning stance. Where experience to date has produced some insight into how participants learn to deal with the questions and issues, observations from workshop experience will be recounted. In some cases, examples will be given drawn from these workshops and seminars. Still, no attempt is made at an exhaustive account of these techniques, for there are hundreds of pages of workshop and seminar materials which have yet to be processed for evaluation. Many people are at the beginning of the new project of inventive planning. It is not dogma, and it must never become so. It is exploration, of a most humanly exciting kind.

Two additional caveats may be pointed out. First, the inventive planning activities do not employ the techniques of gaming or role-playing. Persons as participants are themselves, in all cases. Even in the shift into future time - what is called the future present moment - the participant moves himself into that intended and imagined future, to discover what that means to him. Conjecture is about oneself and one's imagined and intended action space, not about a role actor who is not oneself. The exercises of futures-invention are not games. They are real, in all of the senses and ambiguities of existential action. We may and should "play" at being future persons. Play is a basic mode of the imagination. But the locus of intention and action is not artificial. It is oneself, not another, formalized into a role.

Secondly, the techniques are not group exercises, in the sense of a T-group, or sensitivity training sessions. All of the exercises start with individual reflection. Participants work often by themselves, exploring in private their own intentions, commitments, social actions and imagined futures. They also work together, in pairs, in small task forces, and in plenary sessions. Of course, there is always a powerful interpersonal dynamic at work here. It is accepted, but not manipulated. Mutual support is often required among participants, for certain activities demand a courage which many of us have lost through lack of use. It is the courage associated with expressions of potency in intentional action, and with the use of the critical imagination.

B. Inventive Planning Techniques

There is some artificiality in isolating and sequencing in number a set of techniques which have no meaning by themselves. Quite often, specific activities are repeated, revised, re-sequenced, in order to extract their full strength. Still, experience with alternative sequences has shown that there is a provisionally sensible order. The following techniques will be considered sufficient to describe the practice of inventive planning:

i) Questioning the future
ii) Adopting planning stances
iii) Specifying goals
iv) Transforming goals into occurred states of affairs
v) Stipulating goal consequences
vi) Identifying indicators of goal occurrence
vii) Value-shift assessment
viii) Goal trade-off and priority setting
ix) The development of futures-histories

i) Questioning the Future

This means understanding the differences among the kinds of questions which can be addressed to the future. These are questions about (a) what will happen (the domain of knowledge), (b) what should happen (the domain of intentionality), and (c) what might happen (the domain of the imagination). In the last stage of futures-history development (ix), each of these questions is translated into questions about present actions, as follows:

a) what will be made to happen (the domain of real-politik or political feasibility which comes under the scrutiny of political science);
b) what should be made to happen (the domain of public policy or political desirability which has a heavy normative element);
c) what might be made to happen (the domain of policy research, or political possibility); plus a fourth, strategy question dear to the hearts of policy-makers;
d) how can "X" be made to happen, i.e., brought about.

ii) Adopting Planning Stances Towards the Future

This means understanding how the power of our belief in a forecast about the future, when confronted with our values held in the present, brings about one, or a mixture, of three action stances in the present, as follows:

a) the preventive stance, in which we intervene in the present to render false a forecast about the future which we believe will lead to, or will be, a disastrous state of affairs;
b) the adaptive stance, in which we believe so much in the inevitability of that forecast state (i. e., the forecast is so powerful) that we change our present behaviour in order to adapt to that forecast state; and
c) the inventive stance, in which we seek to act intentionally in the present towards the future so as to bring about a new state of affairs which we understand to be different in some respect from any and all past experience with which we are familiar.

These first two activities (i and ii) may be taken as a prolegomenon to the inventive stance for planning and education. They represent an intellectual activity in which participants learn that the idea of the future is not unitary, but complex, and that we assign to the future in relation to the present different meanings and uses. There are many techniques for conveying these ideas. One useful workshop technique for demonstrating these differences is to get participants to postulate actual questions about the future in the domain of their personal concern (which may include but is not restricted to their formal role or organisational responsibilities). Participants then examine their questions, in plenary session, to understand what they mean and imply according to the categories.

The basic issues addressed in these first two activities underlie the entire futures-invention process. These issues are first approached, through the technique of question-asking, in what might seem an impersonal, intellectual way. Even at this early point, the emphasis is upon action and involvement in learning how to invent the future, rather than upon a didactic mode of teaching which always assumes a hierarchical arrangement of competencies and roles. Careful attention by a group of persons to the kinds of questions they address to the future soon reveals to them their own stances. These questions also serve a preliminary diagnostic purpose. They may be considered indicators of how each person views the future as accessible to his own impact and action.

Finally, participation in these first two activities does not assume a high level of formal educational attainment or intellectual sophistication. My own experience in inventive planning workshops with high school students, teachers, parents, school administrators, planners, businessmen, trade union leaders, mayors, and other citizens has demonstrated that the ability to understand the distinctions made above is rather widely distributed, and not determined by level of educational attainment or by one's position within a hierarchically organised institution or policy-making structure. Nevertheless, some persons exhibit immediate difficulty in posing intentional questions towards the future. This difficulty no doubt reflects a person's history, in which the capacity for potency has been to some extent eroded. Since a workshop on inventive planning soon develops supportive and encouraging relationships among its participants, these early difficulties become an open - i. e., non-manipulative - target for continuous effort by all to practise the inventive approach alone, in duo, in small groups, and in plenary session.

Experience to date has revealed that most persons are more comfortable with their knowledge questions about the future than with normative questions. In effect, they really want to know what will happen. But experience also has revealed something else. Among all categories of persons who have participated in inventive planning workshops, there appears to be a correlation between, on the one hand, level of intellectual sophistication/educational attainment or level of power and responsibility and, on the other, propensity to ask knowledge questions rather than questions of intentionality. For example, in workshops among doctoral candidates in education, most did not easily, and without further support, ask questions about what ought to happen in education. Initially, they were more concerned with (a) what will happen, and (b) how to discover what will happen. In a workshop with a mixed group of sixty persons - high school students, teachers, school principals and administrators (who do whatever institutional planning is done in American schools) and citizen-lay members of school boards, the high school students much more readily grasped the techniques of asking "ought" questions than did the school principals and administrators. Conversely, this latter group wanted to know what would happen in policy areas outside their presumed domain of responsibility.

The main strategy is simply this. Inventive planning workshops stress, from the start, questions of intentionality. Participants need immediate practice in setting goals for the future. The purpose of the first two activities is to develop a general understanding and acknowledgement that there are different kinds of futures-questions and different action stances towards the future. With this understanding, participants can begin their invention with formulating goals, rather than prediction, forecasting, simulation or analysis.

iii) Specifying Goals

This activity moves the inventive planning process into reflective action. Among the three categories of questions and stances, it singles out for emphasis intentionality towards the future. This activity stresses the concern with what should be rather than with what might be.

Because goal specification and subsequent refinement is a crucial element in the inventive process, it merits special commentary. There is a considerable amount of literature about the process of formulating goals which need not be considered here. However, one point familiar to professional planners must be made. In many inventive planning workshops, a number of participants began by formulating the following policy goal statements: achieving universal higher education; changing school curricula and teaching methods to facilitate the self-actualization of students; in a different context, revitalizing our decaying cities; or, bringing about a better "quality of life" in post-industrial societies. These goals share a common feature. The desired state of affairs is described at so gross a level of generality that (a) all, or most, participants can agree the goal is desirable, (b) no participant understands what the goal means, and (c) the over-generalized goal statement possesses no power to move persons to act differently.

Generalized goal statements serve important functions in a social situation of diminished consensus, or fragmentation of norms.

i) They enable participants to feel good about themselves and each other, particularly when substantial or potential conditions of discord and disagreement prevail.

ii) They enable participants to continue their habitual normative behaviour without confronting the sometimes huge disparity between what they say and what they do.

iii) They represent an initially useful technique for stimulating the procedures of political negotiation and consensual bargaining among self-interested competitors for scarce resources.

Inventive planning attempts to transform the goal-setting process into an activity which immediately engages the participant as person, as agent for himself, not for his official role, organisation or institution. Participants formulate - i. e., write or speak - goals to which they are prepared to offer personal commitment by taking action in the present to bring that goal into existence in the future. Commitments, particularly those enunciated at the beginning of the inventive planning process, are usually conditional. Indeed, initial goals get reformulated throughout the exercise as their adherents begin to understand what the goals mean in behavioural terms. Still, it is crucial that participants attempt to describe a future state of affairs which meets the following conditions:

1) It is personal, i. e., it has some meaning to the person, even if, initially, no other participant understands and/or agrees with the goal.
2) The participant publicly acknowledges his commitment to achieve the goal, i. e., it is an intention of the kind that enables the participant to say, "I know my intention".
3) It is a not-yet-occurred state of affairs, i. e., it is a future case which does not, in the participant's judgement, at present exist.

The goal statement is formulated in private. It is not brain-stormed in the group. It is not voted on. It is neither criticized nor debated at this stage. The participants are asked to accept the operative hypothesis of inventive planning: Suppose you can impact upon the future. What kind of future do you want to bring about? But specifying a personally-defined goal for education - or any other area of human activity - is difficult and, not surprisingly, requires further aids.

iv) Transforming Goals into Occurred States of Affairs

This exercise is the first which directly employs the imagination. Participants take a mind-leap into the future time stipulated as the target for goal achievement. They move into that future moment and assume the goal has occurred. It has become transformed into an event in the future as present. It is described in behavioural and institutional terms. In effect, the goal has happened to human beings.

There are a number of techniques devised to assist participants to take this mind-leap: telling stories, writing future autobiographies in which the goal's effect upon the person is detailed, or re-writing the initial goal statement as a news event. A news event is just that: a brief, journalistic account of the goal as if it had already occurred, and could be described in the past. For example, in one workshop, a participant wrote the following news event:

> (AP) May 19, 1980. After six months in operation, the COAPE (Computer Organized Access Program in Education) has begun to show results: 75,347 students have already completed in their homes three credit hours of college-level instruction through wire link-ups between their home audio-visual instructional units and the regional output centers of the centralized computer bank

> of COAPE. It is too early to predict the results, but Professor John Dellington, Chief Evaluator for the Federated Accrediting Associations of North America, has conducted an initial survey of users. "Over one-third of the 'students' are under 15 years of age", Professor Dellington reported. "Four hundred seventy-five were ten years old or younger. About half the courses dealt with the subject-matter of emotions or psychology. There is one problem", Professor Dellington added. "The average income of the families, one of whose members have used COAPE, is $31,750, which places them in the top quartile of family income distribution in the United States, and the top 6% in Canada. Less than one-half of one percent of the users", Dellington went on to say, "are below the poverty level". A spokesman for PLEA (People of Lower Educational Attainment) commented that, as usual, private profiteers controlled production and distribution of the home receiving units and their co-axial linkages with COAPE regional output centers, and were selling them at a cost beyond the level which most Pleaers could afford. "It's time the government stepped in and provided these units for free to anybody who wants one", he said.

The transformation from goal to occurred state of affairs provides participants with practice in meeting two criteria which are central to the futures-invention process. The first is the task of continuously transforming the general into the specific, in the interest of clarifying the meaning of the goal so that it can be understood by all participants. The second is to develop the facility to move back and forth, rapidly and easily in one's imagination, between the present and the future, so that participants become accustomed to imagining themselves in the future they want to bring about. That mind-leap into the future offers the opportunity to deal with a critical issue in all planning and policy formation, namely, the unexplicated assumptions which are made about the worth or value of the future goal after it has been achieved. Once the goal has occurred, it can be seen as an event or actualized process. But will it have been worth the effort?

History is replete with disasters attendant upon the successful achievement of policy goals which, when initially formulated, were believed to be desirable. Of course, we cannot know what consequences will be non-beneficial or even disastrous until the goal has been achieved. We can, however, employ our critical imagination to describe the goal as if it had occurred in order to begin a process of critical assessment against our professed values.

v) Stipulating Goal Consequences

In this exercise, participants begin to identify the consequences of their goals. Such consequences, of course, will become important components in any process of goal assessment. Consequence analysis often reveals that the initial goal statement is not a final, desired outcome or end. It is an interim step (or means) on the way to some other, desired state which the participant has not been able or willing to articulate. The distinctions between means and ends, and means and consequences, underlie this task. Choosing the means must be understood as an activity which (1) selects instruments for achieving an end and (2) produces consequences, some of which may well conflict with the end, or even render it inoperable or not worthwhile bringing about. Policy goals thus become states in thinking through the complex structure of tensions between social causation and personal intentionality. Participants begin to learn that formulating policy goals is a difficult intellectual activity in which all the hazards of self-doubt, misinformation and inadequate understanding of complex cause and effect relationships in society conflict with an emerging sense of potency, of intentionality, and of the possibility of impacting upon the future.

Anticipating the consequences of a goal is an activity which is considered crucial for forecasting and policy analysis. Once anticipated, consequences can then be judged as advantageous or disadvantageous. They fall within the category of intentionality. We can no longer remain passive observers when confronted with the negative consequences of policy, and the hopeless plea that they were not intended. But to be intended, consequences must first be anticipated. This exercise provides participants an opportunity to explicate the anticipated consequences of their goals.

Still, since the goal has been formulated on the basis of personal commitment, we might expect that participant to forecast only the presumed beneficial consequences of the goal. In early workshops, experience showed this to be the case. Therefore, participants are asked to identify negative or non-beneficial as well as positive or beneficial consequences of their goal when achieved. This task produces humility in the face of any initial euphoria about the possibility of bringing about Utopian futures. The identification of non-beneficial as well as beneficial consequences begins the first step in continuous goal revision or reformulation.

It is important for participants to identify consequences outside the immediate personal or institutional arena of the goal. Consider the following examples drawn from workshop experience. In one case, a participant who was a lay member of a school board argued for bringing about a major, new emphasis upon emotional development for young students in the school setting. Her initial attempts to write a news event (task iv) described rather concretely the new and different emotional behaviours and competencies of a young student in 1990 after the policy goal had been achieved in the school district. She described with eloquence the characteristics of affection, trust, hope in the face of uncertainty, non-competitive behaviour, the absence of feelings of hostility, insecurity, and aggressiveness revealed by this child in a specific story she recounted in her news event.

In the task of stipulating consequences, this participant began to conjecture about the effects such behaviour would have on other persons in the child's world, particularly older persons socialized and educated in a milieu which placed far heavier emphasis upon cognitive development and the development of feelings of self-worth through comparative success in school examinationals and course grades. She began to examine the consequences of this goal for teacher behaviour, teacher skills, the social milieu of the classroom. She began to raise questions about the teacher training institutions from which teachers were recruited and whether their recruitment and selection should be handled by a professional school administration or by a committee of parents and students. She began to examine the nature of the criteria and standards employed by teachers' unions and school administrations for judging teacher performance and remuneration. As she set out these kinds of consequences, she began to realize and acknowledge to the other participants that using the schools to "teach a child to love", as she had originally postulated her goal, raised practical issues of profound dimensions.

Among psychologists, educators and other professionals in the field, this kind of forward-running consequence analysis may seem naive, raising issues either settled or not amenable to strategic interventions which work. But for participants in a futures-invention workshop, it is exactly this kind of critical examination of their goals which develops their competencies to unravel the complicated fabric of institutional and role behaviour in schools with a view towards reweaving a new cloth to express their initially intuitive and intentional sense of what they want education to become.

In the United States, many workshop participants who focus their policy goals in the domain of post-secondary education express much concern about providing greater access for lower class and impoverished youth (e. g. groups of last entry) into higher education following their graduation from the public high schools. As they move from their goal statements to stipulating the consequences, they begin to come to grips with the dense problems of alternative allocations of public expenditure budgets, or of relationships between middle class professors protected by tenure against the consequences of student failure in time-honoured academic subjects, and of these learners, new to the social arrangements, rules and performance criteria and standards of higher education. Participants come to realize, in this task, that equity goals for education are often based upon assumptions about hoped-for consequences in the distribution of non-educational benefits, job and income opportunities, and life chances. These consequences get explicated as a first step involving participants in a critical reassessment of the relationships between education and society.

Thus, the identification and analysis of consequences provides participants with a start in developing scenarios of alternative futures. Most participants will not be competent in the formal techniques of scenario construction, nor will they be familiar with scenarios developed by experts and futurologists employing conventional forecasting methods. As participants develop these goal consequences, their picture of education and society emerges in fuller view. Their beliefs about the causes and social meanings of human and institutional behaviour get revealed to all participants in the workshop. It is rich material for examination, critique and evaluation. Emotion-laden myths and intellectual fallacies about social causality which were assimilated at an early age before the development of a critical competence get exposed. In short, consequence analysis, put forward by the imagination into a future time stipulated for the goals' occurrence, becomes a reality-testing of the power of the goal to compel personal commitment in the face of an examination of its consequences.

vi) Identifying Indicators of Goal Occurrence

Social indicators can be very powerful tools for telling us what is happening in the world. They can also stand in the way of honest admission that the world - i. e., our interests, needs and perceptions - are changing. Gross National Product is an example of a macro-indicator with a set of specific economic characteristics which may no longer measure, or represent, new perceptions or emerging areas of human and social concern. Asking the question "How do we know when a goal has occurred? " generates a set of indicators. Indicators of a goal's occurrence bring a concreteness and specificity to vague intentions. Since the goal, by definition, is invented, i. e., possesses some components new to the participant's experience and history, new indicators have to be developed. This exercise, of all those so far mentioned, appears to emancipate the imagination. Participants search for new ways to speak about their goals in behavioural, institutional, qualitative and quantitative terms.

In one workshop involving some sixty policy and political leaders who were examining alternative policies for the future of their city - an industrial, urban area with a population of close to a million - several participants announced as their goal the revitalization of their city. Of course, replacing central urban decay with new business and commercial activities, as well as public, subsidized housing, has been a policy goal in the many American cities supported by federal legislation for several decades. In the workshop critique, it was soon established that (1) the goal was not new and (2) it had produced in the past a variety of capital-investment and political strategies, resulting in over one hundred million dollars of investment (public and private) in the erection of new office buildings, the development of access highways to connect the city to its suburbs, the elimination of some downtown slums previously inhabited by the urban poor and minority groups, the development of a new university campus in the suburbs, etc. Participants began to think through what they meant by revitalization of the city other than these already existing indicators of policy goals and strategies. How would they know when the city was revitalized? What did they mean by this metaphor of (urban) revitalization? What indicators would tell them that, twenty years hence, their policy goal had been achieved?

Participants, as in the other exercises, spent some time by themselves, and in groups of two or three, imagining, stipulating, analysing these indicators before coming together to collate the results. Some of the indicators which they developed were:

- In 1990, as many people are doing something in the Center City between the hours of 5:00 P. M. and 2:00 A. M. as are engaged in business/commercial activities during the traditional working hours of 8:00 A. M. to 5:00 P. M.
- No less than 10% of land in the Center City is devoted to parks, malls, open-space recreation areas (excluding vehicular traffic roads and streets), with one major open space for every ten square blocks.
- Each citizen has the opportunity to rent or purchase housing in any area of the city at a price they can afford.
- A total health care delivery system is decentralized and distributed throughout the city so as to provide easy access and equitable treatment.
- Schools are open 24 hours a day, twelve months a year; as many adults are engaged in educational activities in the schools as children.

With each succeeding round of goal formulation, consequence analysis and indicator identification, participants in this workshop increasingly clarified to themselves and each other what they meant by revitalizing the city they inhabited. Specificity, new indicators, new consequences, goal reformulation began to emerge. But most interesting was the dawning recognition among participants that steel, concrete, glass and plastics, coagulated into mammoth commercial buildings at heavy capital cost, did not represent what they meant by the policy goal of city revitalization. They were committed to inventing a future for their city with an intended human content, with an atmosphere of interpersonal relationships of a character substantially different from that which prevailed. They were beginning to examine alternative meanings for urban life in the future, and beginning a process of choosing theirs.

This series of exercises in inventing a desired future is placed first in the entire process, before addressing issues of probability and feasibility, before developing alternative strategies, before entertaining cost-benefit analyses, before making trade-offs among competing policies and their consequences. All of these additional stages in the planning process are crucial. Still, it is fundamental to the inventive planning strategy that persons in a social or institutional setting, whether at the national, regional or local level of aggregation, be encouraged and stimulated first to articulate with increasing specificity and meaning their intentions before examining the likelihood of these intentions to become realized, or how they can be expressed in action in the present.

There are a number of additional techniques and devices employed in inventive planning which move participants into a final stage of intentional action in the present. These activities will be enumerated and described only briefly, not because they are less important to the entire process, but because, even more than in the case of activities described above, they acquire their intelligibility through doing them rather than reading about them.

vii) Value-Shift Assessment

This is probably the most difficult exercise for participants to undertake, and the one about which there is least clarity and understanding. The purpose of this exercise is not to forecast changes in values held by different social groups over time. In that kind of value forecasting, social norms and belief systems are taken as objects of knowledge by experts who are concerned with how, why and into what new contents societal and group norms change over time. Value forecasting is an extremely complicated predictive activity. Experts who do this must be extremely careful about the injection of their own preferences into the very words they choose to render their forecasts intelligible to those persons who would plan on the basis of these forecasts.

In this exercise, participants attempt to project themselves forward into the time of the goal's occurrence, and speculate about what operative values they will hold. Future goals represent participants' preferences in the present, i. e., at the time the goals are enunciated. Does the participant believe that, in the future, the goal will be valued by him or her as it is when formulated? Does he expect, hope or want to change his structure of preferences? Would changes in age, job or career, family circumstances, level of educational attainment, etc. bring about changes in that person's values? Will certain values now immobilized by life circumstances become operative under changed circumstances?

These are complex matters, worthy of attention. Persons in action must pay careful attention to the fit between the values they admit and the behaviours they practice, in order to gain deeper insight into the possibilities for intentional action towards the future in an institutionalized world in which the social belief in man's impotence may be of epidemic proportions. Formal education systems, other institutionalized settings and the mass media have accrued increasing power and authority in the domain of socialization, consequent upon the erosion of primary institutions of family, church and community. The social space for authentic action expressing the potential integrity of value commitments has considerably diminished. For most participants, their initial goal statements for education represent an attempt to invent a new social or institutional setting for some action space so they can translate their values into action, into deeds as well as words.

viii) Goal Trade-Offs and Priority Setting

This task has generally been considered a major requirement for planning. It enables policy-makers to rank order alternative policies according to two criteria: normative judgements of relative worth, and political judgements about the feasibility of achieving policy goals. The technique employed for this purpose in futures-invention workshops is called Cross-Purpose Matrix Analysis. (1) It uses certain of the Cross-Input Matrix analytic devices developed by Gordon and others at the Institute for the Future. (2) It enables persons who have undertaken some or all of the seven exercises described above to choose among competing or alternative policy goals under the conditions of group or organisational action. It enables actors to consider their intentions vis-à-vis others' intentions in such a way as to produce, through open persuasion, an understanding of which of a set of policy goals, if implemented, might have an enhancing or an inhibiting effect upon the likelihood of achieving the other policy goals. At this point in a workshop, the process of personal goal formulation gets translated into a policy-formulation process. Each of the goals becomes a candidate for top priority based on participants' analysis of how helpful or hindering any other person's goal, if achieved, will be to the achievement of their own goals. One person's goal can become another person's strategy, or vice-versa. Participants clarify the consequences and social meanings of their goals under the sceptical scrutiny and critique of other persons who have also developed an intentional perception of the future and are prepared to argue for it on the basis of both moral and knowledge claims.

Of course, none of the devices so far described is a panacea for aiding mankind to ease itself through the troubled waters of our transitional era. Even in the domain of education, to stress the point once more, inventing the future carries with it absolutely no guarantee about anything. In these workshops participants do come to understand better who and what they are as persons engaged in thinking through what they mean by a desirable state of affairs in teaching and learning, in curricular and programme content, in schools, colleges and post-secondary programmes and institutions, in financial policies and new organisational arrangements, in the complex relationships between education and society, in issues of justice, equity, social differentiation and selection, etc. But they also begin to understand what it means to forego guarantees about the future. The notion of man's capacity for potency is not the same as the notion of man's need for security, i. e., a guarantee about the future which rests on the belief in the determinateness of the world as a knowable object.

Many institutional arrangements, like formal education systems, attempt to offer that guarantee by routinizing the transfer from one generation to the next of the adult roles, models, and expectations which served well in earlier times. Clearly, they no longer serve so well. Social planners can no longer offer guarantees that any educational policy will succeed, based on a claim about what the future will be like. Social planners must themselves learn to invent the future - not of education,

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1. Stuart A. Sandow, Educational Policy Formulation: Planning with the Focus Delphi and the Cross-Purpose Matrix, op.cit.

2. T.J. Gordon, Richard Rochberg and Selwyn Enzer, Research on Cross-Impact Techniques with Application to Selected Problems in Economics, Political Science and Technology Assessment, Institute for the Future R-12, Middletown, Conn., August 1970. See also Michael Folk, A Critical Look at the Cross-Impact Matrix Method, Research Report RR-5, Educational Policy Research Center, Syracuse, New York, August 1971.

of which they are a small part, but of planning itself, and of how other persons in education may better learn to use the available tools. In so doing, planners will want to pay attention to the future in the ways we have set forth. But, because of their trained habits of mind, planners will want to address still another question, which also connects the future with the present: "How do we get from here to there?" The futures-invention process stands that question on its head. It poses it as: how did the policy goal occur or happen? It changes the conventional sequence of chronological time, by moving from the future backwards to the present. The device we have developed to respond to that question is the last one in this inventory.

ix) The Development of Futures-Histories

This technique is about the telling of stories: history without necessity. Stories are never necessary, but sometimes they are sufficient to compel men to action, because they come to be believed. There is no knowledge about anything, past, present or future, until it is believed. As the Scottish philosopher John Macmurray put it in his Gifford Lectures,

> Belief - not theoretical assent - is a necessary element in knowledge. A logical system of true propositions does not of itself constitute a body of knowledge. To constitute knowledge it must also be believed by someone. For knowledge cannot exist in the void; it must be somebody's knowledge. A proposition may be true even though no one believes it; but it cannot, until it is believed, be an element in knowledge. (1)

The element of belief in a forecast (which claims contingent knowledge of the future) is what compels men to action - preventive, adaptive or inventive. Planners try to develop the reasons why decision-makers should believe planning forecasts. Planners say, if we do "x", then "y". When policy-makers give a "y" to planners, then planners say, in order to achieve "y" (the policy goal), we must treat it as an outcome of "x". "If ... then" propositions about education are often set in stages of time-series. As the education system moves forward through chronological time, inputs can be incrementally varied to make up for deficiencies in meeting sequential outcomes or targets, or, to put it simply, errors in the forecasts (i. e., "rolling reform", which is different from "rolling planning").

Participants in futures-invention workshops approach the matter differently. They write and analyze their own futures-histories. First, they do this by themselves. Next, they do this in conjunction with others to produce time-sequenced scenarios. A futures-history is each person's attempt to answer the question, how did it all happen? The goal is assumed to have occurred, and to have been specified, concretized and "fleshed out" with all of the consequences and indicators which the critical imagination can produce. Once a policy goal is powerfully formulated, the obvious next concern of a person committed to that goal is to designate the alternative strategies to bring it about, and choose the best one. But which strategy is best? Usually, policy planning will answer this question on the basis of two factors. The first is our knowledge of the past, in which we attempt to employ scientific methods to develop a

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1. John Macmurray, The Self as Agent, Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1969 edition, London, p. 78.

theory which will produce a necessary and sufficient history of the past, i. e., a statement of causal relations which meets three conditions: it is supported by evidence on which reasonable men can agree; we believe it to be true; and it is true. The second is the projection of our knowledge of the past into the future, utilizing one of many different projective techniques, in such a way as to convince decision-makers that that projected future is necessarily true.

We are all familiar with the need of policy-makers to believe that their chosen strategies are the necessary ones: that they themselves can determine and control the relevant future by employing a strategy they have determined, on whatever grounds, is necessary and sufficient to bring that future about. Policy-makers will not employ a strategy they believe won't work. Too much is at stake, including their own personal futures. Somehow, the strategy must be made to work. In the modern era of complex, national and international macro-systems, policy-makers have adopted an apparently effective ploy. They use experts to convince every actor in the situation - which may all be citizens, if it is a matter of national or foreign policy - that the strategy is necessary. Scientists become social planners. Their highly contingent and complex knowledge about social causation and statistical correlations becomes transformed into and popularized as necessary knowledge of the future. That transformation and popularization is the political function of think-tanks. In the arena of social affairs and education, it is widely held - by planners and citizens - that the most important aspects of the future are predetermined, objective, and inaccessible to personal intervention. Policy-makers probably know better, but dare not let the secret out, because to do so under most present arrangements challenges their own political potency for it implies the potency of every person.

If we choose to believe that a human future is the domain of intentionality, then futures-histories can turn the process of forward planning into planning backwards. Futures-histories pose, in sequence, three questions. The first question is asked in the future past tense: How did the goal occur? Working backwards, rather than forwards, participants employ their memory of the future. They lay out a series of plausible events which are linked to each other from the occurred goal back to the present. These plausible events are deemed sufficient explanations of the history of the goal's occurrence, rather than necessary explanations. The goal is treated as an occurred reality, as an event or an actualized stage in a continuing process for which indicators are available.

What is the nature of this plausibility? It is not different from any analysis of relationships among social events and personal actions in spatio-temporal terms. It emerges from a critical understanding of the human behaviour and social experience within the person's historic span of action. Each participant possesses this critical understanding as a consequence of his or her engagement in a personal history of action in institutions, social relationships, and society ... in short, experience with practical affairs. It is out of the inadequacy of this experience to express the capacity for potency that a person generates intentional actions towards the future. That history becomes transformed into a memory of the future, which contains the same components as a memory of the past, except that it is not considered necessary - only sufficient.

Following this first writing of a futures-history, a second question is asked in the future perfect tense: How will it (the goal) have been made to happen? This question produces a revised futures-history in which the writer must now translate his conjectured, plausible and sufficient events into the remembered intentional actions of persons, of which his own is central since they speak to his own goal. Here, the participant is telling himself a story about his own future as one among intentional agents within the conditions/events set forth in the first futures-history. Thus, these events are seen, as they are in experience, as actions.

The third question transforms the futures-history into alternative strategy analysis forward from the present to the future: How can we make it (the goal) happen? The question puts the participant into the present action stance, in which he must choose among a range of strategies which he first discovered by probing his memory of the future. The future-histories reveal to their creators an enormous array of sufficient strategies. Workshops conducted for "practical men of affairs", successful in administration, education, politics, business and industry and the professions, have confirmed their capacity to employ the critical imagination in conjunction with practical experience to invent a host of tactical instruments and strategic policy innovations to move them towards the future they intend.

C. Some Further Remarks on Futures-Invention as Planning

This completes the inventory of some techniques which, when assembled, comprise a programme for inventing the future. They are to be learned, not in their reading, but in their doing. Their intelligibility resides in their practice rather than in their written formulation. That should not be surprising, considering that the futures-invention programme is built around a conception of the person as agent rather than as object, for whom the truth and falsity of knowledge is demonstrated through its practical application as the right or wrong means to an end which is a sequence of continuously reformulated and intended goals. Thus, the theory of inventing the future is in an heuristic state. It is problematic in terms of its correctness, and must be considered as a right or wrong strategy for the end which is intended by the person who subscribes to the theory. Similarly, a conception of the person as agent makes of education an heuristic arena for learning, practising and testing out the meanings, limits and competencies of human agency in an increasingly impersonal world of macro-systems. That calls for a new literacy in which persons in all walks of life learn how to make and change those systems so that they impact less destructively on this conception of the person. This may well require the invention of some radically different systems for the exchange and delivery of social services, of which education is so large a part.

Planning for the implementation of that conception of education will be foreign to the experience and understanding of many planners. They will have been taught to consider education in the metaphors of engineering and industry. They will consider education a sophisticated, lock-step system for moving huge numbers of bodies through space and time (like factory workers and managers in an industrial corporation, or civil servants in a large-scale bureaucratic department). These "bodies" will be implanted with skills, knowledge and attitudes which can be counted, measured, deployed, used up, spent, tracked, categorized and separated out from their owners, who have, of course, also become replaceable.

Under these circumstances, there is a serious question in my mind about the validity of attaching the name of planning to this programme for inventing the future. Over the past several decades, experience in educational and social planning has solidified into formal rules for naming its object - which is control over the future - and developing the techniques for doing so. As planning for controlling the future gains stature in the minds of policy-makers and clients, it speaks with great force to the elimination of human behaviours and intentions which are marginal to its purpose. In short, planning will become institutionalized. But it is now clear that inventive planning calls for the exercise of certain dispositions and the assimilation, through practice, of certain competencies for which too few institutional opportunities are provided in modern society. We have assigned to institutional formation, and planning for it, the task of ensuring an increasing measure of continuity and stability to control the vagaries and idiosyncrasies of human conduct. Invention means bringing a newness, a freshness, an original meaning into existence within a social context. The capacity to do that has generally been regarded as the burden of genius, which we believe to be stringently rationed among mankind, and brought into play only under the rarest mixture of genetic history and social circumstances.

Nevertheless, I attach futures-invention to this conception of potency and selfhood in every person. It is through this idea that futures-planning gets linked up with the idea of participatory planning. Participation, if it is to possess a meaning other than the changing of the formal rules of governance of systems and institutions, must rest on some understanding of the human person. This understanding is inadequately served if it is translated into a programme for "flattening out" hierarchical arrangements in conformity with simplistic egalitarian ideals.

The analysis and description undertaken in this monograph is not an argument for planners to cease doing their tasks of forecasting, analysis, simulation and quantification. It may be an argument for inventing the future of planning. But even that intention is problematic in the light of the serious pressures on social and educational planners to make their current systems work better. Epic poetry, like the Greek Tales, or the Chanson de Roland, may move men by giving them the courage to undertake new ventures. But the account given here scarcely fits that literary genre. Nevertheless, in the futures-invention workshops, training sessions and seminars conducted to date, this approach has had a marvellous emancipatory effect on the imagination and on the practical actions of persons who intend to bring about some modification, bold or miniscule, in what they mean by the doing of education.

The last questions of this monograph must now be addressed. How will these modifications and inventions affect a formal system so mammoth, so byzantine, so bound by conventional rules of right and wrong as are the educational systems of our contemporary era? Will there be any effect at all? Why should policy-makers and planners, particularly those ensconced in the central, controlling roles of these systems, want to encourage among the clients and agents of the system a set of activities which may well shift the rules by which power over the system gets distributed? It is to these questions we now turn in Section IV.

IV. SPAN OF ACTION AND SCOPE OF INQUIRY

A. Decentralization: An Attempt to Bridge the Gap

In the first monograph prepared for OECD-CERI in 1969 on the futures-perspective in American education, the relationship between span of action and scope of inquiry was raised as a major practical issue confronting those who would inquire about the future and act in the present. The problem of the Eight-State Project, Designing Education for the Future, was noted as an example of the disproportion between means and ends. The end was the development of alternative views of the future of education and society relevant to the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of a geo-political region of the United States. The means, however, comprised a complex system of thousands of state and local educational institutions whose planning and action base for educational change had neither the policy structures nor the intellectual linkages with the alternative views developed at regional conferences.

In June 1972, at a conference at The Hague on second-generation educational planning sponsored by OECD-CERI, the issue arose again. One of the conferees noted that my paper, "Normative and Distributive Aspects of the Outlook Activity in Policy Planning for Alternative Educational Futures", in effect called for the decentralization of education systems as a solution to this problem. Upon reflection, it would seem that the idea of decentralization, like that of participation, is too general and politically-charged a concept to help us discover what we intend to make happen in education that may be different from its present practices. Consider, for example, that the formal, core system of American education is already highly decentralized in a complex web of governance, with close to 20,000 districts and 3,000 institutions of higher education organised in 50 states, and overseen by a federal U.S. Office of Education which possesses little governing authority. Still, it is remarkable that education for youth throughout this system is everywhere so much alike. Teachers, administrators, students and parents move easily back and forth across the nation with every expectation that the educational institution they enter will not be substantially different from the one they left. This homogeneity comprises a great binding cement of American society. It maintains the formal fiction of local control of education while at the same time facilitating a great mobility among the population. Up to 40% of families in the United States change their geographical place of work and residence every year.

Even when local control of a school by its teachers, students and parents is effected, that decentralizing mode of governance is no sign that some new vision of education will emerge. In an inner-city public high school in the very large Chicago School District, parents, teachers and students fired the school principal appointed by the Chicago Board of Education and governed their school. (1) Prior to this event, Farragut High School in Chicago exhibited all of the symptoms of delinquency, violence, truancy, gang behaviour, drugs, and poor student achievement on standard tests - i.e., little or no teaching and learning was taking place. The

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1. Elizabeth Anders, "Everybody Run Farragut", Evergreen Review, Vol.16, No.95, Fall 1972.

clients of the school undertook a revolutionary and illegal act. They put the school under their own formal governance by dismissing the principal appointed by the Chicago Board of Education. Weekly, teachers, students, parents and elected teacher-administrators met to discuss the running of a school of 2,500 students and 140 teachers. They voted on every policy issue and procedure which was in contention - and there were many. Apparently they were able to turn the school around - to institute conditions under which the students would attend classes and take up their learning responsibilities. The change in attitude among all constituents in the school was remarkable. Undoubtedly, their sense of potency and of impact on the conditions and arrangements for their own education emerged in full force. The educational programme was reestablished. It was a no-nonsense, traditional curriculum, in which teachers were clear about what they were teaching, students and parents were clear about what was to be learned, and traditional standards for classroom behaviour and learning achievement were accepted. Active participation in local school planning and governance, of which Farragut was an outstanding example, led to no inventions about education, but to the reinvigoration of a standard high school programme.

This example highlights an hypothesis: decentralization of school or education systems, whether at the national, regional or local levels, in planning and administration, does not by itself ensure or provoke educational change or reform. To be sure, when persons confront new opportunities for choices about their education, it may well enhance their sense of selfhood and increase their space for intentional action in the present. But we have no grounds for proposing that this emancipation from hierarchical control of the arrangements for education will, by itself, produce anything new. It may, however, if accompanied by a political pedagogy of the kind we have set forth in the futures-invention process, provide clients an opportunity to consider exactly these matters.

B. The Planner as Facilitator

Official planners, and policy-makers, like all other role-actors in an education system, are caught in a complex system of reciprocal exchange. The rules of this exchange limit their capacity to deal imaginatively and intentionally with the future of these aspects of education for which they hold responsibility. We must all seek to emancipate ourselves from the past, or else we cannot choose wisely which aspects of our traditions we intend to carry with us into the future, and which aspects we intend to drop along the wayside and substitute new meanings, structures and conditions for education.

This is the issue. Under optimal conditions, any person can inquire into the future at any level of aggregation. The scope of his inquiry is as broad as his concern and imagination. Indeed, some persons have become experts in the future of the world, of international society, of transnational economic, communications, ecological and political systems. Yet no person, to my knowledge, feels very potent, in this day and age, in impacting upon these macro-systems. Similarly, with national macro-systems of education: planners and policy-makers at the centre may inquire into the possible and probable future conditions of their nation, in its many social and cultural contexts. They may even intend some new social policies, and hope to use the education system as an instrument of these policies. But few persons feel very secure in their human capacity to effect these intended futures at the national level. Such doubt is a condition of our transitional era.

At the regional, and particularly at the local level, the issue of disproportion between span of action and scope of inquiry is exacerbated. The establishment of local research mechanisms through which citizens, students, teachers, administrators and other client groups may inquire into the future of their nation, or world society, utilizing a variety of forecasting techniques, are not likely to become action mechanisms for impacting upon these gross contexts. Much of American educational futures planning carried on at the local institutional and state levels, in lower and higher education, as well as in adult education and the periphery of the system, results in the adaptive posture. Future conditions of social life, like those set forth in Alvin Toffler's popular book on Future Shock, are explicated, believed, and stipulated as the conditions to which we must prepare our youth, through education, to adapt. People believe there is a huge incongruence between their concerns about what the future will be like - which lies in the domain of inquiry - and their capacity to invent the social action space to impact upon a future they intend.

To narrow that gap is an aim of futures-invention workshops. Claims that human beings have lost their capacity for social invention are essays in hopelessness. But we are unable to forecast the characteristics of these social inventions. We have lost the habit - not the capacity - to make social inventions, and we must reestablish it. In order to reestablish the habit, to bring into awareness and to fruition the disposition for agency and potency which resides in all persons, the opportunity and encouragement to do must be affirmed. It must be affirmed in the social settings in which persons possess their richest human experience, where they can bring their practical wisdom and critical imagination into play. These are in places of their work, their education, their civic concerns, their recreation, their homes, churches, cities and neighbourhoods.

Participation in education, in planning for the future of education, and in a programme for inventing the future link up at the local level, where persons can sense the boundaries and limits of their action and push against them. Here is where the practical wisdom which people possess can merge - and confront - their critical imagination. The notion of participation, or of participatory planning, in education is thus to be understood as the development of opportunities for a reconsideration by persons of the ways in which they can reacquire a belief in their own potency. Inventive planning is certainly only one way to do this. But it does provide a means to connect the inquiry into a future which is intended with a span of action in the present.

Similar propositions hold for planning experts, administrators, and policy officials at any level of an education system, including the central political and bureaucratic apparatus. There is a similar disproportion between their concern about the future and their action space in the present. For the central institutions of governance and the roles they act out have been circumscribed by habit and bureaucratic rigidity. The inhabitants of the "seats of power and influence" cannot possibly be expected to put any faith in the competencies of ordinary persons to invent their futures unless they possess that faith in themselves. Their own human potential to invent the future must therefore be put to the test: by participating, as persons, in futures-invertion workshops. Formal leadership and expertise positions in modern society, at the commanding heights, so to speak, are encumbered by persons who seek and need an expanded opportunity to reaffirm their quest for human agency in their world of depersonalized macro-systems. We are all connected up in this way, rich man and poor, black, yellow and white, male and female, elected leader or appointed official and voter, business manager and clerk, foreman and factory worker ... planner and those for whom the planning is done.

From this follows a new project for planners. It is for them to become facilitators, teachers of this pedagogy of futures-invention, working at the regional and local levels to encourage and support those other administrators, teachers, students, parents and citizens to engage in the invention of their own educational futures. The techniques are easily learned, by planners and by participants; the disposition is widely distributed, and the competencies are almost invariably appropriate to the span of action within which participants begin these exercises. It is that experienced span of action - its limits binding their potency - which gives birth to their initially articulated intentions for the future. Abstract, pious, moralistic or universal goals for the future quickly get revised and reformulated into a dimension which links their span of action with their scope of inquiry. The concreteness and specificity of social inventions emerge, to be tested out in action, in any of the instrumentalities of education.

The new project for planners is to invent the future of planning. In its development, participants in this project may well focus on the problems of impersonal macro-systems of education vis-à-vis the span of action for persons in those systems. The connective tissue between the centre of the system and its millions of local education settings must be reshaped. The opening up of the system to the inventiveness and intentionality of persons in its many constituencies becomes a grand task for inventive policy-makers and planners who affirm their own potency, and recognize that their personhood and agency cannot be enabled except within a total educational context which facilitates its emergence among all constituent persons. Undertaking this project may also comprise the contribution which planners and policy-makers can make to discovering and inventing what we intend to mean by participation in education, and in educational planning.

GENERAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This monograph represents a stage in my thinking through the project of futures-invention. At a certain point in a project, which contains both broad philosophical questions and very practical implications, ideas get put to paper. This monograph is not a final statement. The issues it neither solves nor addresses - and they are many - are the agenda for continuing research, of the kind that illuminates and assists in action projects in education in which the participants intend to bring about better education. This monograph is a public, though still provisional, indicator of much work undertaken in co-operation with many colleagues, both at the Educational Policy Research Center at Syracuse, and elsewhere. Their research, inventions, speculations, and experience, as well as their collegiality, represent both the inspiration for, and the actual content of, much of my project. They cannot be held accountable for the interpretations, judgements, and uses which I place on the meanings and practices of futures-invention. They are responsible for an increasing clarity about my intentions, for which this monograph represents only one instrument. Rather than clutter the text with footnotes which attribute to these colleagues original authorship for many of these ideas and techniques, I prefer to acknowledge their work in this manner.

Dr. Maureen Webster and Gerhard Kutsch, of the EPRC, have read the text in draft form, and performed admirable editorial and conceptual critique under inordinately strict time limits. I am most grateful for that specific assistance. But their input to my thinking goes far beyond the boundaries of this monograph. For several years, we have been colleagues in exploring the futures-perspective in educational planning. Dr. Webster's seminal work on Educational Planning in Transition - Emerging Concerns and the Alternative Futures Perspective, Working Draft, Syracuse, New York, Educational Policy Research Center, August 1971, a study of the evolution of educational planning in OECD Member countries in the 1960's, is the classic in its field. Her scope of knowledge about educational planning goals and practices, throughout the world, is enormous and is always made available to me in a critical perspective. Gerhard Kutsch first introduced me to the crucial idea of action space; and our many conversations on this and related matters have been instrumental in informing my ignorance and clarifying the agenda of my larger project. In the same vein, John Donohue, of the EPRC, has made available to me in many conversations the richest experience of us all in applying and modifying futures-forecasting and long-term, comprehensive planning methods within a governmental planning unit at the State level in Brazil. His experience and insight into the organisational, staff personnel, and pedagogical implications of this kind of planning, when introduced into a formal unit of government, will soon be reported in a doctoral dissertation at Syracuse University.

Section III of this monograph, on workshop techniques in futures-invention, could never have been written except for the inventive genius of Dr. Stuart Sandow, of the EPRC, long a comrade-at-arms in the battle to return to citizens the power to utilize planning as a weapon in their continuing struggle to hold policy-makers accountable. Over half of the techniques discussed in this monograph are Dr. Sandow's inventions, and many of the ideas I have used to reach beneath these techniques to discover their intelligibility he had originally formulated, though in different contexts. More specifically, the ideas and techniques of the future present moment, translating goals into occurred states of affairs, the news event, value-shift assessment, the cross-purpose matrix, are creatures of his invention. His published documents describing these techniques in detail include: The Pedagogical Structure of Methods for Thinking About the Future, Working Draft, Syracuse, New York, Educational Policy Research Center, September 1970; "The Pedagogy of Planning: Defining Sufficient Futures", in Futures, III, 4 (December 1971); and Educational Policy Formulation: Planning with the Focus Delphi and the Cross-Purpose Matrix, Research Report, RR-9, Syracuse, New York, Educational Policy Research Center, February 1972.

Of course, the most significant others in the entire enterprise must be the graduate students at Syracuse University, and the hundreds of workshop participants in the field in cities, school districts, planning units of governments, civic, business and professional organisations who have taken these techniques and ideas and applied them, revised them, and given to them the practical grounding in intentional action towards their futures, without which they would become the manipulative instruments of technical rationality denuded of any conception of the person and of a human future. Two graduate students who have worked most closely with me in this larger project, served as my teaching-assistants, and subjected the experience of futures-invention to the critique of their own intensive participation and intellectual development are Constance Leean and Paul Krusa.

The collegiality of Jack Harrison, Executive Director of the Center for a Human Future, requires acknowledgement. His vast wisdom and grandeur of commitment to a human future, in education and all other affairs of mankind, continues to inspire me to a reach far beyond my grasp, and to the courage to work with others in this challenging enterprise.

All of these colleagues, and many more besides, lend their personal encouragement and wits to me with no notion of reward. They hold no responsibility for this rendition of my own interpretations of the issues and problems at stake, or of the manner of their possible solution. But we all share a commitment to continue in this enterprise of inventing the future, though each in his or her own way.

ANNEXES

Annex I

FURTHER PAPERS PREPARED IN CONNECTION WITH THE TOPIC (1)

Fontaine, Pierre	*Rapport du pays: "Quelques aspects de l'expérience québecoise en matière de participation à la planification du système d'enseignement
GERMANY	Country Report: "Educational Planning as a Task for Government Authorities"
Neverman, Knut	Country Report-Annex: "Preliminary Work of the Education Commission of the German Education Council"
NETHERLANDS, the Minister's Committee on Higher Education	Country Report: "Memorandum on Improved Planning for Post-Secondary Education in the Netherlands"
Verburg, Peter	Country Report: "Some Aspects of Participation in the Proposed Planning for Post-Secondary Education in the Netherlands"
Meijer, Hans	"The Participatory Process for Higher Education in Sweden: Some Views and Observations"
Petty, W. H.	"Public Participation in the Education Service"
SPAIN	Country Report
TURKEY	Country Report: "Planning and Educational Planning in Turkey"

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1. Available in document form on request to the OECD Secretariat, Directorate for Scientific Affairs.

* Only in French language.

Annex II

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Meeting of Country Representatives and Experts
15-16 January 1973

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